

A DESCRIPTION
OF THE ORIG LANGUAGE

(SOUTHERN KORDOFAN)

BASED ON THE NOTES OF

Fr. Carlo MURATORI

by

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and

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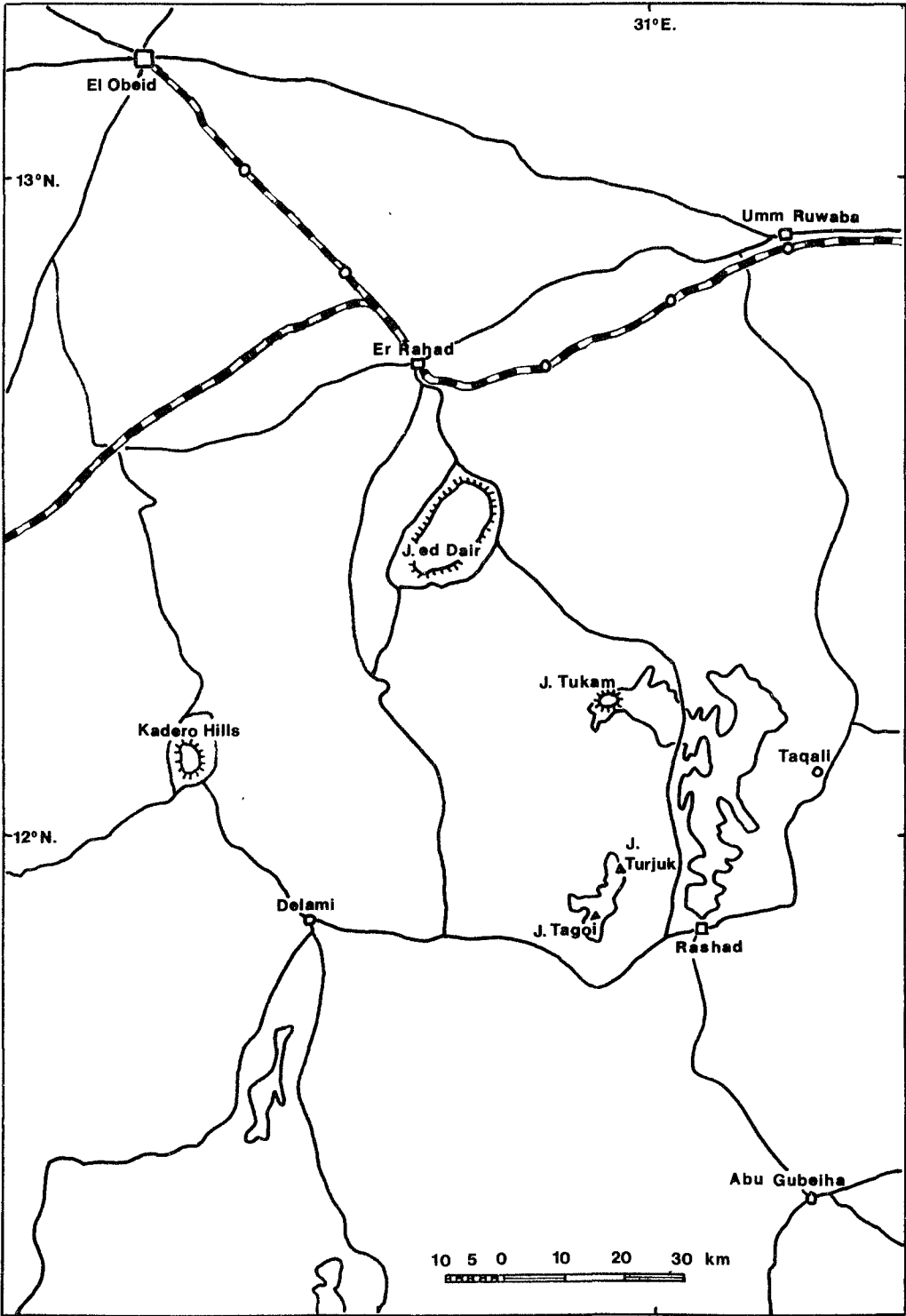
Fr. Carlo Muratori

born 1912 in Bologna

died 29.7.1959 in Verona

C. Muratori lived in the Southern Sudan between 1927 and 1936. From 1948 to 1950 and from 1952 to 1959 he lived in Khartum, where he devoted much of his time to the study of several languages of the Nuba Mountains. In addition to his unpublished linguistic notes he also published several educational religious pamphlets in these languages.

The position of Jebel Turjuk (Rashad District, Southern Kordofan)



INTRODUCTION

The Orig language

Orig is the name suggested for the language - or dialect - spoken at and around Jebel (Mount) Turjuk near Rashad in the Province of Southern Kordofan, Sudan. In this language, the J. Turjuk area is called tóórig, the people are referred to as yóórig, sg. woorig, and the name of the language is ḡóórig. Orig belongs to one of the Kordofanian groups of languages for which we suggest the name RASHAD Group. According to STEVENSON (1956-57), this group consists of two dialect clusters which he named "Tegali" and "Tagoy". They are spoken on two mountain ranges to the north and north-west of Rashad. The most conspicuous difference between the two dialect clusters lies in the presence in the latter of a system of noun classes with concord marked by prefixes vs. its absence in the former. Orig belongs to the Tagoy cluster, i.e. the one with noun classes. Another dialect of this cluster spoken at Tumale is known from a series of articles by Lorenz Tutschek published between 1847 and 1853. They were based on the research of his brother Karl Tutschek who died in 1843. Muratori reports that the Orig people use the term ḡḡḡlḡ to refer to the language group as a whole; he uses the terms tḡḡlḡ for the country and sg. wḡḡlḡ / pl. yḡḡlḡ for the speakers. On the maps, the place-name is spelled "Taqali".

The informant Adam Isa

Adam Isa was born in 1944, his parents were Isa Mahmud and Amma Gasim, both from J. Turjuk. Adam completed the two years "Kitaab" school at home, and then he was taken as a servant by his teacher to Berber, where he followed another two years of schooling. In November, 1956,

he came in contact with Fr. Carlo Muratori who was at that time working at Comboni College in Khartum. Muratori reports that Adam was an intelligent informant, and that he had a slight stammer. They worked together once a week for a short period of at most several months.

The original manuscript

The present publication is based solely on an unpublished manuscript by Fr. Carlo Muratori entitled "The ḡoorig or ḡogole language". Henceforth, we refer to this manuscript simply as NOTES. These NOTES, although extensive, do not form a complete, coherent manuscript. They consist of several unfinished parts, some of which exist in more than one draft. The main part of approximately one hundred pages contains grammatical notes covering phonology and morphology. It also contains lengthy digressions on such topics as: Bantu noun class prefixes; a singulative formative found in "Nilohamitic" and Nilotic languages; the non-existence of gender and case in Orig; large-scale comparisons of personal pronouns and numerals, quoting the forms of dozens of African languages based mainly on A. TROMBETTI (*I pronomi personali*, 1908) and H.H. JOHNSTON (*A comparative study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages*, 2 vols., 1919); the migratory history of various African peoples or races; etc. The rest of the NOTES are mainly various drafts of word-lists, both Orig-English and English-Orig. Together, these amount to some sixty pages. Finally, there are a few pages of ethnographical notes. The NOTES are written in English, with occasional explanations added in Italian and Arabic.

On the whole, the NOTES represent a highly commendable effort on the part of their author to provide a pioneering work on the Orig language. However, it was apparent to Muratori himself that his manuscript was not suitable for publication in its present form. His work, nevertheless, is important enough as a first step towards the description of Orig to warrant being published. Because of this, the present authors undertook a complete revision of his NOTES in order to make his findings

accessible to other linguists.

The present manuscript

In January, 1975, when the senior author visited the Nuba Mountains for a linguistic survey of Kordofanian, he enjoyed the hospitality of the Comboni missionaries at El Obeid. On his visit, he made a list of the linguistic papers left by the late Fr. Carlo Muratori, of which the most complete ones appeared to be the NOTES. He was given a copy of these NOTES and promised to try and prepare them for publication.

From these NOTES, a completely new manuscript was written with the help of the second author, who prepared extensive card-files on all the lexical and grammatical information contained in the NOTES. All factual information is included in the new manuscript, as well as many of Muratori's analytical insights. We have, however, not included reflections which we considered not relevant to a strictly linguistic description of Orig. Throughout this work, we have stayed close to the transcription found in the NOTES; we have applied a few typographical conversions, but we have not regularized the data in any way.

Although we are well aware that the present description is still far from complete, we feel its publication is justified in this linguistically neglected area.

Acknowledgements

Our thanks are due to the Missionari Comboniani of El Obeid, especially to Fr. Francesco, for their cooperation in providing us with a copy of Muratori's NOTES. We are grateful to Fr. Stefano Santandrea (Missionari Comboniani, Rome) for sending us biographical information on Fr. Muratori. We also thank Dr. R. Ma Newman for helpful comments on our manuscript, and Mrs. N. Dontchev-Lambrechts for doing the final typing.

I. SOUNDS AND SPELLING

Consonants

The following consonant phonemes occur:

| | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|
| OBSTRUENTS | STOPS | p | t | c | k |
| | FRICATIVES | f | s | | |
| SONORANTS | TRILL | | r | | |
| | LATERAL | | l | | |
| | NASALS | m | n | ɲ | ŋ |
| | GLIDES | | | y | w |

Between two non-obstruents, stops appear as voiced. In final position, they may be unreleased.

| | | |
|-------|--------------|------------------|
| p/b : | púra/yìbúra | laloba tree |
| t/d : | wit/yìdin | guinea-fowl |
| c/j : | wàlèc/yiljon | giraffe |
| k/g : | córók/ɲórgón | type of antelope |

This voicing rule does not stop at word (?) boundaries.

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| ɲáí ɲí-dúríɲ | bile (lit. 'water of gall-bladder') |
| cf. túríɲ | gall-bladder |
| kìbíí kí-dógòlè | Mount Taqali |
| cf. tógóíḽ | place/village of the Taqali people |

Loan words (from Arabic) do not always conform to this rule.

| | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| gálám/sálmát | pencil < Ar. qalam |
|--------------|--------------------|

Also, the name of the people and of the language of Jebel Turjuk is consistently spelled with final g or ɣ (i.e. unreleased stop).

| | |
|--------|-----------------------|
| yóóríg | people from J. Turjuk |
|--------|-----------------------|

Other exceptions to the rule occur.

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| àdàpá | maize |
| yítíc/ńítíjìt | dibble |
| kùlúkùr/súlúkúrín | wild pigeon |
| kàmsék/simsìkét | iron |

In our spelling, we use the familiar two sets of symbols to distinguish voiced from voiceless allophones.

The stops as well as the sonorants r, l, m, n occasionally occur doubled in intervocalic position. Such double (phonetically lengthened) consonants appear to be concentrated in the short lists of kinship terms, numerals, and adjectives.

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| tùppá | eight |
| wùttár | chief |
| àccá | grandmother |
| tàkkáy | far |
| cìrrùwán | type of mouse |
| kìllí | shoulder |
| wùmmànyó | late |
| ànná | mother |

As is consistent with the voicing rule (cf. p. 7), double stops are voiceless. There are two exceptions.

| | |
|----------|----------------------|
| álgàddúm | adze < Ar. al-gaḏḏūm |
| kajjam | devil's thorn |

It is possible that some intervocalic voiceless stops are to be interpreted as double stops.

| | |
|----------------|--|
| nùkàrà | drum < Ar. nuqqāra (Sudan-Ar. q = [g]) |
| wìkók ~ wùkkók | two |

There is some doubt as to the unitary phonemic status of the apical stop. Interdental, dental, and alveolar articulation all occur, but

the (inter)dental articulation is said to be more frequent than the alveolar one. However, words which occur more than once in the NOTES are with disconcerting frequency spelled variously with either t/d or with ɬ/ɖ. We shall therefore not mark this difference. (This is in agreement with the position taken both in STEVENSON 1956-57 and in TUCKER & BRYAN 1966.)

c, j are pure (palatal) plosives, not affricates.

ŋ followed by i may become palatalized to the point of becoming a pure palatal nasal.

ŋíí ~ ɲíí ~ níí meat

This appears to be an optional low-level phonological rule. Both ŋ and ɲ are attested preceding all different vowels.

| | | | |
|-------|----------|---------|----------|
| ŋída | doorways | ɲín | children |
| ŋáraá | fat | ɲàndèrè | dwarfs |
| ŋùrìn | horns | ɲúén | birds |

Nasals may be pronounced very weakly in final position.

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| tùlú(ŋ)/yúlút ~ tùlùŋán | elbow |
| yímbó/ŋímbó ~ yímbóŋìt | knee |

(In the latter variants, the plural is marked, i.e., by -án and -ìt, respectively.)

It may be due to this feeble pronunciation that the pluralizing suffix is sometimes spelled -Vŋ instead of the more frequent -Vn.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| tìgí/yágyán | medicine (from trees) |
| yínándàr/ɲínándàràŋ | rock |

The glides y and w appear as noun class prefixes, and as such they may precede all the different vowels.

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| wín/yínét | snake |
| wàm/yàmát | type of snake |
| wís/yúsén | type of monkey |

Word-initially, y before i and w before u is sometimes optional.

| | |
|--------------|------|
| yìlén ~ ìlén | anus |
| wàttá ~ ùttá | one |

In final position, glides are rare. On the other hand, a number of words end in vowel plus i/u, and such 'diphthongs' are (almost) non-existent in other positions. We find it impossible to decide whether these two types of sequences are contrastive or not.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------|--------|
| cìbáy | stomach | káí | head |
| càgóy | lamb | ḡóí | blood |
| ínéw | bad | tìyéú | valley |
| tíyàù/tìyàuwít | wilderness | | |

Both y and w appear word-medially between vowels.

| | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| yòyòṅ/ḡòyòṅ | type of wild fowl |
| ḡṡwán | tears |

In one case, word final y apparently varies with medial j.

| | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| woy/yuwujin ~ yuwuyin | he-goat |
|-----------------------|---------|

In the formation of plurals when a suffix -VC is added, a vowel may become a glide. Again, the spelling is probably inconsistent: the sequence i/u plus vowel is also found in this environment.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| tìgí/yágyán | medicine (from trees) |
| wómí/yòṃját | slave |
| yìṅòré/ḡìṅòryṡṅ | stick |
| sìdádè/sìdádìàn | door |
| dəlu/dálwán | rainmaker |
| tìgíljù/yágíljúèt | root/vein |

The consonants j, h, z occur in a few obvious (Arabic) loan-words.

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------|-------|-------|
| janab | moustache | < Ar. | šanab |
| hamam | domesticated pigeon | < Ar. | ḡamām |
| zeet | oil | < Ar. | zayt |

The occurring consonant sequences are listed in the following table.

| C_1 | C_2 | r | l | m | n | ɲ | ŋ | b | d | j | g | f | s | w | y |
|-------|-------|-----|---|-----|-----|---|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|
| r | (+) | | | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | | + |
| l | | (+) | | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| m | | + | | (+) | + | | | + | + | | | | + | | |
| n | | | | + | (+) | | | | + | + | + | | + | | + |
| ɲ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ŋ | | | + | | + | | | | | + | + | | | | + |
| b | | + | + | | | + | | (+) | | | | | | | |
| d | | + | | | | | | | (+) | | | | | | |
| j | | | | | | | | | | (+) | | | | | |
| g | | + | + | + | + | | | | + | | (+) | | | | + |
| f | | + | | | + | | | | | + | | | | + | |
| s | | | + | | | | | | | | + | | | | |

The sequences marked (+) consist of two identical consonants; they have been presented above (p. 8). The sequences consonant-plus-glide are fully exemplified on p. 10.

The majority of the consonant sequences contains a sonorant in at least one position. The most frequent combinations consist of a nasal plus a homorganic stop: mb, nd, ŋg. The sequence nj probably stands for ɲj, and the sequence ng (occurring once in *singir* 'nasal mucus') may be misspelled for ŋg.

The stops between a sonorant and a vowel appear as voiced (cf. p. 7). There are four exceptions.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| yiràt/ɲùrtò | kidney |
| kàrkàdàk/sàrkàdàk | palate |

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| murɪŋ/murkok | horn |
| kàdǎŋkàn/sìdǎŋkàn | type of hoe |

There are three examples of sequences consisting of two non-identical obstruents.

| | | |
|--|---------------|--------------|
| wùskín/yìskínít | type of knife | < Ar. sikkīn |
| yífɕìn/ŋífɕìn | body | |
| ŋǝgdìráá | Arabic | |
| cf. kédraá/sídraá ~ kadiraa/sidiraa Arab | | |

Sequences of consonants frequently arise through vowel elision in the formation of plurals when syllables are prefixed and/or suffixed to the singular form. In some cases the vowel elision appears to be optional.

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| fìŋín/yìfŋín | ear |
| pùràŋ/yùbùrnét | (upper) arm |
| fàráŋ ~ fráŋ | cow |

There are two instances of sequences of three consonants.

| | |
|--|------|
| ŋíndír ~ ñndír | nose |
| yìnéndàr/ŋìnéndar ~ yìnéndak/ŋinéndrak | rock |

Vowels

The system of vowels cannot be stated with any confidence. Consequently, the table below is but a guide to the transcription actually followed. Such a cautious position is indicated by the numerous examples of spelling variations for the same words (cf. APPENDIX: English-Orig wordlist).

| FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|-------|---------|------|
| i | | u |
| ɪ | | ʊ |
| e | | o |
| ɛ | ə | ɔ |
| | a | |

In addition, the following vowels appear with very low incidence:

ĩ, ẽ, æ, ɤ, ɤ̣.

In the NOTES, the set i, e, æ, o, u is classified as "tense", the set ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ as "lax".

MURATORI explicitly states that no system of vowel harmony emerges from the available data.

The vowels i, e, ɛ, ɔ, o, u are close to but somewhat lower than the corresponding cardinal vowels. ɪ is described as being higher than the vowel in English "bit"; ʊ lies halfway between the cardinal vowels 7 and 8.

The phonetic values of ĩ and ẽ are not known. The vowels occur in the following words:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| pî ^h n | lobe of ear |
| kî ^h děk | sky |
| kî ^h rěk | smoke |
| yî ^h ndír | nose |
| yě ^h ù | place |

The low vowel a lies between cardinal vowels 4 and 5.

A vowel æ occurs as a spelling variant in two words. This vowel is described as similar to cardinal vowel 4, but "tense" with retracted tongue.

| | | | |
|---------|---|---------|--------------|
| kæbær | ~ | kèbér | earth |
| ɲèrèmæt | ~ | ɲèrémát | canine teeth |

(In the NOTES our æ is spelled a; our a is normally spelled thus, but ɤ when attention is being drawn to its lax quality.)

The vowel ə is described as "central", but also as a "retracted", "dark" variety of a. (In the NOTES, it is spelled either ä or ạ̈.) It is not infrequent, and may be the only vowel in a root.

| | |
|-------|------|
| ĩmbét | goat |
| pæk | brow |

The other two central vowels are described as "less dark" ə and "darker" ɤ than ə, respectively; but the matter is not clear.

They only occur in pronouns (cf. p.55), and in one other word.

| | | | |
|--------|------|-----------|--------|
| yìgɛ́n | I | ɲɛ́gdìráá | Arabic |
| ̀̀gɛ́n | thou | | |

Three degrees of vowel length have been noted: short, normal, and long. They are marked, e.g., ɛ́, ɛ, and ɛɛ, respectively.

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| kám | hair |
| yímín | durra |
| týrúk | corpse |
| kíjɛ́n | thorn |
| yɔ́gɔ́lɛ́ | people from Taqali |
| yóóríg | people from J. Turjuk |

No nouns of the structures CV(C) or CVV(C) occur. No two long vowels have been found in one word.

Four tone levels are marked in the NOTES: high, mid, low-mid, and low. This notation has been reduced to two tones, H and L, with almost complete regularity, in the following way:

- high, which occurs only after mid, is replaced by H;
- mid before high is replaced by L, and elsewhere by H;
- low-mid, which occurs only in phrase final position after low is replaced by H; and
- low is replaced by L.

We mark H with an acute and L with a grave accent. No accent means that tone was not marked in the NOTES. Tone marks occur generally above vowels, and occasionally above nasals followed by another consonant. Such nasals are presumably syllabic.

| | |
|-------|------|
| ̀̀bét | goat |
|-------|------|

In one, two, and three syllable words, all possible combinations of high

and low tones occur.

| | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------------|
| L | wàm | type of snake |
| H | wús | type of monkey |
| LL | kìrìm | night |
| LH | yòmé | bee |
| HL | kábà | hut |
| HH | ḡífí | meat |
| LLL | yòmòṇṇò | fruit of palmyra (tree) |
| LLH | wùrímán | lion |
| LHL | yìnéndàr | rock |
| LHH | kèrúbét | leopard |
| HLL | tífiràn | granary |
| HLH | ḡéḡdìráá | Arabic |
| HHL | kúlúkùr | wild pigeon |
| HHH | kúdúrík | chicken |

Falling tones also occur, but rarely. If they are found in word-final position, they are marked by a circumflex accent.

| | |
|-------|-------|
| máṅgâ | Nuba |
| sámât | wells |

Medially, they are followed by a nasal plus another consonant. In these cases, the low tone mark is placed above the nasal.

| | |
|--------|-----|
| yíṅgát | eye |
| kěmḡdí | rat |

Vowel sequences are rare, except in word-final position (cf. p. 10).

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| kíán | type of lizard |
| cìríyá/nìríá | first-born son (n.pr.) |
| kàṅjío | daylight |

Vowels within one word influence each other. No rules have been worked out to describe these changes.

For example, the plural suffix *-Vt* appears in (at least) the following shapes.

| | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|
| -at | kám/sámât | well |
| -æt | kàdɛn/sədipɛt | buttock |
| -ɛt | wùlém/yìlémét | chin |
| -et | kùlút/sùlútét | type of snake |
| -it | téndɛn/ɲɛdɛɲit | lower leg |
| -it | kírís/sírìsít | type of lizard |
| -ɔt | kànjàk/sìnjìgót | mouth |
| -t | tùlǵ/yùlút | elbow |

Root vowels frequently undergo changes, too.

| | | |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| ɔ/o/u | wór/ɣoron/yíwírín | baobab tree |
| a/ɨ | kànjàk/sìnjìgót | mouth |
| ə/ɨ | pək/pìkát | brow |
| e/i | úsèrèn/yìsìrɛ̀nìdìn | gazelle |
| ɛ/ə | yòfǵɛ/ɲòfɛ̀ɲàt | type of wild fowl |

Vowel elision is frequent in the formation of noun plurals when a suffix is added (cf. p. 12). In many cases the following change is involved between sg. and pl. forms:

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3/C_1V_1C_2C_3-VC$$

C_1 may be a prefix, in which case it changes in the plural, often with a concomitant change of V_1 . Or it may be part of the stem, in which case a prefix may precede it in the plural. In most cases, either C_2 or both C_2 and C_3 are sonorants.

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| w.úrát/y.órd.át | wild cat |
| k.òró̀m/s.òrm.ót | frog |
| mǵrás/yì.mǵrs.ín | spear |

However, in other words where the same conditions are present, no vowel elision takes place.

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| t.árák/y.àràg.àt | skin |
| t.èrèm/ɲ.èrèm.àt | canine tooth |
| t.írás/y.írás.ín | bull |

II. NOUNS AND NOUN PLURALS

Introduction

Most nouns consist of a consonantal prefix and a stem. The prefixes can be identified by their alternations between singular and plural.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| y.òmé/η.òmé | bee |
| k.ám/s.ám | hair |
| k.ús/s.ús | bone |

Certain classes of nouns have no prefix (alternatively: a zero prefix) in either the singular or in both singular and plural. In the latter case, the plural is marked by a suffix (v.i.).

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| mbét/yì.mbét | goat |
| ódó/ódó.t | mother-in-law |

Sometimes it is difficult to fix the boundary between prefix and stem. If we analyse the prefixes as consisting of a single consonant, we cannot account for the (sporadic) changes of the following vowel. Conversely, if we take the shape CV as starting point, it is not clear how to account not only for all the different vowel changes but also for the non-changing vowels.

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| yílán/ηəlán | day |
| yéndóm/ηúndóm | udder (of cow) |
| yélnán/ηálnán | ice |
| yìràt/ηùrtò | kidney |
| yìrác/ηìrác | ankle |
| yáf/ηáfín | pebble |
| yùr/ηùrét | heart |

Generally, we shall characterize the prefixes by single consonants; the question of a possible CV shape for any individual prefix is considered separately for that prefix.

In addition to the marking of plural by prefixes, plural may also be indicated by suffixes. There are two such (groups of) suffixes, i.e., -Vt and -Vn, where V stands for any vowel except u and ʊ. The tone may be high, low, or falling. The vowel is usually of "normal" length, but in a few instances it is short; in three examples it is absent altogether.

| | |
|-------------------|---------|
| tɔ́lɔ́/yùlɔ́.t | elbow |
| kámɓàlà/sámɓàlà.t | camel |
| kùr/sùr.n | palmyra |

There are also three examples of what apparently are vocalic suffixes (cf. p. 9 on the feeble pronunciation of word-final nasals, and on the -Vn vs. -Vɲ variation).

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| kòmbàlón/sùmbùlón.ó | striped hyena |
| yìràt/ɲùrt.ò | kidney |
| cɔŋɔŋ/núŋjúŋ.í | type of hoe |

Longer plural suffixes appear to be combinations of the shorter ones mentioned above.

| | |
|---------------------|---------|
| àmsúròm/àmsúrm.ánín | axe |
| úsèrèn/yìsìrn.ìdìn | gazelle |
| àppá/àppá.nàt | father |
| ànná/ànná.nìt | mother |

The plural suffixes may co-occur with all the different plural prefixes. Such a suffix is always present when the plural is not marked by a prefix.

Unlike prefixes, suffixes do not mark syntactic or semantic classes of nouns. In particular, there is no concordial agreement.

We use the terms "class" and "gender" in the sense widely accepted and used amongst linguists working on Niger-Congo languages.

A noun class is defined by its concord; but a singular class is considered to be distinct from a homophonous plural class. A noun class is divided into sub-classes when the same concord agrees with nouns

having different prefixes.

A gender is a singular-plural pair of noun classes, or a single noun class which does not enter into such a pairing.

The presentation below is arranged according to genders. Here the noun classes are identified by a number in addition to the concord. The connecting lines indicate the major two-class genders.

| SINGULAR | | PLURAL |
|----------|---|--------|
| 1. w | } | 4. y |
| 2. LAB | | |
| 3. t | } | 6. ŋ |
| 5. y | | |
| 7. k | — | 8. s |
| 9. c | — | 10. ɲ |

There are sub-classes with zero prefixes for classes 1, 2, and 4, and possibly also for classes 9 and 10. Generally, however, the noun prefixes and the corresponding concords are identical.

Minor genders as well as deviations from 'regular' concord occur; these are discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

In the remainder of this chapter, we list all recorded nouns in their genders. We omit most of the orthographic and morphological variants; e.g., for 'upper part of the arm' we list only *púrɲ/yìbúrɲ*, but not the variants sg. *pùràɲ*, *púruɲ*, pl. *pùrùnéɲ*, *yùbùrùnéɲ*. For all such variants, we refer the reader to the APPENDIX: English-Orig wordlist.

For each noun class prefix we discuss the possibility of setting up a fuller form of the shape CV.

We have stated the principle that noun classes are defined as concord classes. The few available examples of concord indicate that the nominal prefixes and the concords are identical; exceptions occur with zero-prefixes. For most nouns, however, there are no examples of concord. We therefore assume that the prefix and the concord are identical.

Keeping in mind the continual interest in the possible semantic content

of this type of gender, we have subdivided the examples according to broad semantic categories such as 'human', 'animal', 'body part', 'plant', 'artefact', etc.

Gender 1/4: w/y

Within this gender, three divisions could be established on the basis of presence vs. absence of a nominal prefix:

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----|
| gender 1/4 | : | w/y |
| gender 1°/4 | : | ∅/y |
| gender 1°/4° | : | ∅/∅ |

Due to lack of sufficient data on concord, class 1° frequently cannot be distinguished from class 2 or 2°. We therefore list the nouns with questionable zero prefixes separately after first treating the "canonical" examples of genders 1/4 and 2/4.

Among the nouns belonging to gender 1/4 it is possible to distinguish a few semantic groupings. However, such groupings are to be taken with caution, firstly, because the data base is small, and secondly, because none of these groupings is restricted to this gender.

In their order of prominence the groupings are:

- (a) persons
- (b) trees
- (c) animals
- (d) body parts
- (e) others

(a) persons:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| wóóríg/yóóríg | person from J. Turjuk |
| wǝǝǝlǝ/yǝǝǝlǝ | person from Taqali |
| wàttár/yàttar | chief |
| wàrórek/yùrùgànn | thief |
| wim/yìmit | witch |
| wómí/yòmìát | slave |
| ?/yagurat | murderer |
| (kúmbú ?)/yìrmú | person |

(b) trees:

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| wór/yoron | boabab |
| wàndàgàṅ/yàndàgàṅ | sycamore tree |
| wèdèmèr/ ? | date-palm |

(c) animals:

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| wit/yìdìn | guinea-fowl |
| wor/yoron | porcupine |
| wùdés/yìdèsèn | heifer |
| wús/yúsén | monkey |
| wùsù/yúsúwèn | dog |
| wàlèc/yiljon | giraffe |
| wúráṭ/yórdát | wild cat |
| wàm/yàmát | type of snake |
| wín/yínét | snake |
| wùrìmán/yìrìmánít | lion |
| úsèrèn/yìsìrnìdìn | gazelle |

(d) body parts:

| | |
|---------------|------|
| wúdá/yúdá | foot |
| wùlém/yìlémét | chin |

(e) others:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| wàngàryán/yàngàryánít | seat |
| wùskín/yìskínít | (small) knife |

On the basis of the two identified loan-words in these lists one might wish to specify the prefixes as *wu-* (*wə-*)/*yi-*.

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| wù.skín/yì.skín.ít | < Ar. <i>sikkīn</i> | 'knife' |
| wè.dèmèr | < Ar. <i>damar</i> | 'date-palm' |

Most examples with vowel changes seem to support such an analysis; cf. 'chief, heifer, giraffe, lion, gazelle, chin'.

The forms of 'thief' are either very irregular, or else contaminated.

The singular form of 'gazelle' has been interpreted as showing optional deletion of initial *w* before *u* (cf. p.10).

Gender 2/4: (LABIAL)

There is but one word in the data with nominal prefix *f-* in the singular and *y-* in the plural (concord also *f/y*).

fàráŋ/yáráŋ cow

In addition, there are at least two words in which we must recognize a prefix *p-* because the *p* shows up as a (singular) concord.

péŋán/pìŋnít name
pùnúdíŋ/ ? type of ant

Words with initial *p* or *f* in the singular form their plurals in one of three different ways:

(1) by replacing *f* by *y*:

'cow' (v.s.) is the only example;

(2) by prefixing *yi-* (*yi-*, *ye-*):

púrá/yíburà laloba tree

(3) by adding a suffix, but without any prefixal change:

fàŋán/fàŋánát elephant

Note: In STEVENSON (1956-57), such words always have prefix alternation:

b.ura/y.ura.n laloba tree
f.əŋín/y.ínín elephant
p.arat/f.art.ət (!) gum tree

The formation of plurals by prefixing *yi-* also occurs with other labial consonant-initial words, i.e. with words starting in the singular with *m*, *mb*, *w*. There is no indication of *m* or *mb* ever occurring as a prefix, either by alternation or by concord. Moreover, plural formation solely by suffixation is not restricted to words beginning with a specifiable class of sounds.

In the absence of positive data on concord, we are unable to decide all

the questions of class membership. We shall simply list these words below in what seem to us appropriate groupings.

Genders with unidentified singular classes: 1/4 or 2/4

Two features are used for our grouping:

(1) the initial phoneme of the singular form, which may be

- (a) p, f, or
- (b) m, mb, w, or
- (c) others; and

(2) the type of plural formation, which may be

- (a) by prefixing yi-, or
- (b) by suffix only, or
- (c) unknown.

As words without an initial labial do not form plurals by prefixing yi-, this classification results in eight groups.

Group (p, f)/yi-

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| píl/yíbílìk | hammet tree |
| púrà/yíbúrà | laloba tree |
| póónè/yíboónè | tamarind |
| pýrò/yíbrò | chest |
| púrñ/yíbúrñ | arm, upper (variant in group p/ø-) |
| fínín/yífnín | ear |

Group (p, f)/ø-

| | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| pek/pìkát | brow |
| pîn/pìné | lobe of the ear |
| pénán/pìgnít | name |
| bìsìr/bìsírít | type of knife |
| fàṇán/fàṇànat | elephant |

Group (p, f)/?

No plurals have been recorded for the following words.

| | |
|---------|-------------|
| pùnùdín | type of ant |
|---------|-------------|

| | |
|----------|--------------|
| bòmbe | sweet potato |
| pen | sesame seeds |
| fàgìr/ ? | sorcerer |

It is likely that most (?) of these words with initial p, f belong to gender 2/4. If this is so, and if no conditioning can be found for the distribution of p and f, then class 2 should be split into two classes, accordingly.

The semantic groupings established for gender 1/4 seem to recur, with the exception of "persons".

Group (m, mb, w)/yi-

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| màngâ/yémàngâ | Nuba |
| marda/yimardat | horse |
| màrás/yimàrsín | spear |
| mbét/yìmbét | goat |
| wòr/yíwóórèn | um-kaddaqi tree |
| wyryán/yìwúryànìt | jimmida tree |
| woy/yuwoyin (~ 9/10) | he-goat |

Group (m)/ø-

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| món/múnìn | type of monkey |
| màrá/màrnát | road |
| murìp/murkok | horn |

The word for 'horn' shows a non-recurrent internal variation between singular and plural; a more regular, similar word with this meaning is found in gender 3/6: tùrìn/ṣùrìn.

There are no clear examples with initial mb and w; there is only a variant of a word more regularly found in gender 1/4 (cf. p. 21).

| | |
|-----------|-----------|
| wor/woron | porcupine |
|-----------|-----------|

Group (m)/?

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| mínjék/ ? | stick |
| medina/ ? | town |

| | |
|----------|-----------------|
| mǎʃiʃ/ ? | spring |
| mooz | banana |
| mìndó | salt |
| mùsáán | pores (of skin) |

Most of these words are (likely to be) loanwords. This is also true of the words with initial m listed above.

Group w/?

| | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| wàndók/? | down-palm |
| wùndágàn/? | type of durra |
| wúdíń | scorpion (the constellation) |
| wùrán/? | termite |

No plurals or concords have been recorded for these words, but they belong almost certainly to gender 1/4. Note that at least three of the examples are plants or animals, and that they include no obvious loanwords.

Group (-LABIAL)/ø or ?

A few subdivisions can be made within this group.

Firstly, there are a number of kinship terms. Strictly, they should be subdivided into (at least) two different genders: gender 1/4 (concord w/y) and gender 9/10 (concord c/n). Still, we list them together here because we do not know the class membership in each case.

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| àppá/àppánàt | father |
| ànná/ànnánìt | mother |
| àccá/àccánát | grandmother |
| èmmé/èmmenèt | grandfather |
| ńìdé/ńìdénèt | sibling |
| ódó/ódót | mother-in-law |

Secondly, this group includes a number of words which initially have no resemblance to any existing class prefix. They may even start with a vowel or with a phoneme restricted to borrowings. Such words are (always?) loans.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| àlbúndú/àlbúndét | gun |
| álgàddúm/álgàddúmét | adze |
| àllàn/àllànát | evil spirit |
| àmsúròm/àmsúrmánín | axe |
| dəlu/dálwán | rainmaker |
| doktoor/dakaatar | physician |
| nùkàrà/núkàrát | drum |
| hamam/hamamaat | domesticated pigeon |

Words with no plural either recorded or existing:

| | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|
| almula | God |
| àdàpá | maize |
| azaba/? | widow |
| dawa | medicine |
| hakiim/? | physician |
| hawa | wind |
| názáb | salt extracted from goats' faeces |
| fanab | moustache |
| firyan | vein |
| zeet | oil |

Thirdly, there are a number of words found in this group of which the initial consonant is identical with some class prefix. It is therefore conceivable that the concord agrees with that class - at least, in the appropriate number, either singular or plural. Indeed, such concordial agreement is recorded for 'hand' and 'enclosure' both with initial *y* in the singular as well as in the plural. One might suppose that these two words belong to a gender 5/4, but such an analysis could not be stretched to explain the pairings with initial *k*, *s*, *t*.

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| kàríà/kàríát | vein, artery |
| kádós/kàdòsát | pipe, for tobacco |
| sìdádè/sìdádìàn | door |
| tìsál/tìsálát | spleen |
| tùríyà/toari | type of hoe |
| tíyàù/tìyàuwít | wilderness |
| yòrò/yòrìbò | kraal |

yúr/yúrit

palm of the hand

Gender 3/4: t/y

More than half of our examples for this gender are body parts.

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| tófé/yófé | scrotum |
| tìk/yìk | tail |
| tàgám/yògmát | neck, nape |
| tэгát/yágdat | vagina |
| tùlú/yùlút | elbow |
| tárák/yárák | skin |
| túríp/yúrípàt | gall-bladder |
| tóm/yòmát | face, forehead |

Three other words, also body parts, occur in this gender as well as in gender 3/6, apparently in free variation (v.i.).

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| tíréì/yíréì | intestines |
| tímín/yímín | breast |
| téqlàk/yánùlák | tongue |

Four items could be described as man-made constructions; but cf. the place-names in gender t- below.

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| tífiràn/yáfránít | granary, cf. fàràṅ 2/4 'cow' |
| tiṅgil/yìṅgilit | tower, in fields (?) |
| tàmbàn/yàmbànit | sheepfold |
| tìttàm/yéttám | grave |

The rest of the examples appears not to be amenable to semantic characterization.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| tìgí/yágyán | medicine, from trees |
| tìgíljà/yágíljuèt | root, vein |
| tàglám/yìglèmèt | shade, soul |
| týrúk/yýrúk | corpse |
| tírás/yírásín | bull |

In a number of cases the vowel following the prefixal t in the singular is different from the vowel following the prefixal y in the plural.

If we look at the word for 'granary' which in all likelihood is derived from 'cow' though the semantic part of the derivation is not well understood, then we observe singular ti-/plural ya-. The same alternation is found in 'medicine' and in 'root, vein', and a similar one, i.e. te-/ya-, occurs in 'tongue'. To this we can add the alternative plural for the following word:

tittàm/yáttámít grave

Finally, the only apparent counterexample 'shade' with an alternation ta-/yi-, has a variant plural form without vowel alternation:

tàglám/yàglàmà shade

If we have interpreted these examples correctly the full prefixes should be set up as ti-/ya-. The plural prefix ya- would be distinct from the prefix class 4 yi- serving as the plural for classes 1 and 2. Unfortunately, there is no evidence from concord bearing on the possible distinction yi- vs. ya-.

Note also that none of the examples supporting the "full" CV-shaped prefixes ti-/ya- belongs to the semantic grouping 'body parts'.

Gender 3/6: t/ŋ

Almost all nouns belonging to this gender can be characterized as body parts. The only exception is the word for 'star'.

| | |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| tègàn/ŋègàn | foot |
| tíréł/ŋíréł | intestines |
| tèrèm/ŋèrèmát | canine tooth |
| tùrìŋ/ŋùrìŋ | horn |
| tèłéŋ/ŋéłŋɔ̃t | star |
| tímín/ŋímín | breast |
| téndèŋ/ŋedèŋɪt | lower leg |
| tìŋèŋ/ŋìŋèŋ | tooth |
| téŋlák/ŋéŋlák | tongue; cl. 6 also: language |

Three of the words above, 'intestines', 'breast', and 'tongue', also occur in gender 3/4 (v.s.).

No characteristic vowel alternations occur between singular and plural.

Class 3 words and gender 3: t

Some words with prefixal consonant *t* occur in this class only; they are to be regarded as a single class gender. Other words are also recorded in one form only, with initial *t*, but the plural is probably lacking accidentally.

Semantically, words of gender 3 can be divided into two groups:

- (a) designations of place
- (b) mass nouns.

The following nouns indicating place have been recorded.

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|
| toorig | the village of J. Turjuk |
| | cf. wóoríg 1/4 person from J. Turjuk |
| tǫǫǫlǫ | the village Taqali |
| | cf. wǫǫǫlǫ 1/4 person from Taqali |
| tǫrám | forest |
| tan | village |
| tǫyéú | valley |

The first two examples suggest that there is a systematic way to derive place-names and 'tribal' names from the same root. (For a further connected derivation, that of language names, cf. pp.33f.)

The last two examples have been included here provisionally; their membership in a two-class gender cannot be excluded.

Four items recorded above as belonging to gender 3/4 could also be characterized as designations of place; they were: 'granary', 'tower', 'sheepfold', 'grave'. Moreover, there exist a number of adverbially used words with initial *t* which designate places; cf. pp.55f. Though nothing is known about their etymologies, they too are likely to be instances of gender 3: *t*-.

The following list of six items contains non-liquid mass nouns. Some of them are (possibly) loanwords.

| | |
|--------|-----------------|
| tif | groundnut dregs |
| tábà | tobacco |
| tàgàs | grass |
| tùlàn | dust |
| tìngáf | ear-wax |
| tàyú | marrow |

Finally, there are three words for which no plural happens to be recorded.

| | |
|--------|---|
| tur | horn, for blowing (cf. tùrìn 3/6 horn) |
| tambal | drumsticks |
| tíyù | navel-string |

Gender 5/6: y/η

The clearest semantic grouping within this gender is formed by a number of names of fruits which are derived from the same roots as the corresponding trees.

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| yìdàmàr/ηèdèmèr | date cf. wèdèmèr date-palm |
| yàmdók/ηàm dók | fruit of dourm-palm cf. wàndók dourm-palm |
| yòmòṇò/ηòmòṇò | fruit of palmyra |

A number of body parts, both paired and unpaired, also belong to this gender.

| | |
|---------------------|--------|
| yìdál/ηìdál | penis |
| yìdìmbók/ηìdìmbòkét | heel |
| yùr/ηùrét | heart |
| yìràt/ηùrtò | kidney |
| yíréf/ηíréf | spleen |
| yìrác/ηìrác | ankle |

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| yàràṅ/ṅàràṅ | <i>brain(s)</i> |
| yìrèwén/ṅìrèwén | <i>testicle</i> |
| yòllóm/ṅòllòmḡt | <i>larynx</i> |
| yìlén/ṅìlén | <i>anus</i> |
| yìmbó/ṅìmbó | <i>knee</i> |
| yímri/ṅímri | <i>navel</i> |
| yìndèp/ṅìndèp | <i>groin</i> |
| yíndír/ṅíndír | <i>nose</i> |
| yéndóm/ṅúndóm | <i>udder</i> |
| yindaan/ṅíndaánít | <i>nostril</i> |
| yìndón/ṅìndòṅít | <i>back of head</i> |
| yìnèèè/ṅìnèèè | <i>cheek</i> |
| yíṅgát/ṅíngát | <i>eye</i> |

It does not appear to be useful to divide the remaining content of this gender into further subgroupings. Too many could be made: animals, plants, natural phenomena, artefacts, etc.

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| yé/ṅíyé | <i>egg</i> |
| yífcìn/ṅífcìn | <i>body</i> |
| yìndàk/ṅándàk | <i>excrement, of animals</i> |
| yúrúrín/ṅúrúrínánín | <i>type of abscess</i> |

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| yòfḡṅ/ṅòfḡṅát | <i>type of wild fowl</i> |
| yòmé/ṅòmé | <i>bee</i> |
| yòyòn/ṅòyòn | <i>type of wild fowl</i> |
| yìldín/ṅìldín | <i>type of creeping weed</i> |

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| yáf/ṅáfín | <i>pebble</i> |
| yìnéndàr/ṅìnéndàr | <i>rock</i> |
| yìṅàn/ṅàṅàn | <i>stone</i> |
| yílán/ṅàlán | <i>day</i> |
| yélnán/ṅàlnán | <i>ice, snow</i> |

| | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| yítíc/ṅítíjìt | <i>dibble-stick</i> |
| yídá/ṅídá | <i>doorway</i> |

(Such rules are necessary to explain word-initial variation yi/ɲu, e.g. in the word 'heart'.) Consequently, we should not find singular forms starting with yu. In fact, there is but one such word, probably complex: yúrúnín 'abscess'. Conversely, if we set up ɲu- as the basic form, we would not expect singular forms starting with ya. Of these, however, we have four: 'fruit of doun-palm', 'fat', 'brain(s)', and 'pebble'.

Again we have to stress that in the absence of straightforward evidence from the concord system, such an analysis remains highly speculative.

Words with initial y: class 4 or class 5?

A number of words with initial y are recorded in one form only. For these words, it is not known which words have the other number missing accidentally, and which words may form a one-class gender. It is not even evident whether a particular item should be regarded as a singular or a plural, i.e., whether to regard it as class 5 or class 4, respectively.

Five items can be characterized as meteorological phenomena.

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| yàù | rain |
| yòs | coldness |
| yél | wind, air |
| yómólòk | whirlwind |
| yàn | sun |

For the rest, no semantic characterization is attempted

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| yìdìr | back |
| yádán | sesame |
| yúgán | sleep (n.) |
| yìmìì | type of creeping weed |
| yéù | place |

Gender 6: ɲ

In this gender, we find at least two well-defined semantic groupings, language names and liquids.

Language names:

| | |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| ṣóríg | Turjuk language |
| | cf. wóóríg 1/4 person of J. Turjuk |
| | toorig 3 the village of J. Turjuk |
| ṣṣṣlṣ | Taqali language |
| | cf. wṣṣṣlṣ 1/4 person from Taqali |
| | tṣṣṣlṣ 3 the village Taqali |
| ṣṣṣiráá | Arabic |
| | cf. kàdráá 7/8 Arab |

Liquids:

| | |
|-------|-------|
| ṣàì | water |
| ṣóí | blood |
| ṣoc | urine |
| ṣìrìṣ | pus |
| ṣíló | mud |
| ṣṣn | milk |
| ṣṣwán | tears |

The remaining content of this gender is more difficult to characterize. Some of the items may well be verbal nouns.

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| ṣisilèt | circumcision |
| ṣírís | fear |
| ṣúló | building site |
| ṣalful | groundnuts |
| ṣálgíín | voice |
| ṣòllén | cough |
| ṣúmán | shame |
| ṣìndà | tear duct |
| ṣóṣínnèy | dream |

Gender 7/8: k/s

On the basis of the available data, this gender appears to be the most common one. Gender 7/8 contains items from nearly all semantic groupings that have been distinguished within the other genders.

Most of the nouns in this gender denoting persons are somewhat exceptional. The word for 'person' has a suppletive plural (class 4). Three other words have an internal change j/n; they are either compounds or else have a double prefix 7+9/8+10.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| kèdráá/sídráá | Arab |
| kúmbú/(yìrmú 4) | person |
| kì.jàt/sì.jàt | man (vir) |
| kú.júdrú/sá.jídrú | paramount chief |
| ka.jɔgrɔt/sa.jɔgrɔt | debauchee |

No plural has been recorded of the following word, which is known and used all over Southern Kordofan.

| | |
|---------|----------|
| kùjúr/? | magician |
|---------|----------|

A sizable list of body parts also belongs to this gender.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| káí/sáí | head |
| kéý/séý | bowel |
| kábú/sábú | beard |
| kùdúm/sùdúm | gum, of teeth |
| kàdɛp/sədɛpɛt | buttock, thigh |
| kús/sús | bone |
| kar/sar | hair, of body |
| kírɛf/sírɛf | intestines (stomach, heart, lungs) |
| kíríc/síríjít | wrist |
| kárkàdàk/sárkàdàk | palate |
| kòrgán/sòrgàné | armpit |
| kàrná/sàrná | upper leg |
| kíllí/síllí | shoulder |
| kàlàl/sàlàl | thumb |

cf. càlál 9/10 finger

| | |
|-----------------|------------|
| kám/sám | hair |
| kìmí/sìmí | belly |
| kìnsi/ ? | lip |
| kìndàr/sìndàr | pubic hair |
| kànjàk/sìnjìgɔt | mouth |
| kòngát/sòngòdát | liver |

Animals:

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| kòbùlé/sòbùlé | type of lizard |
| kàdìrú/sàdìrú | pig |
| kúdúrík/sýdúrgín | chicken |
| kàgóy/sàgyán | sheep |
| sòkògmát | fish |
| kúró/súró | type of ant |
| kìrís/sìrísít | type of monitor lizard |
| kòròm/sòrmót | frog |
| kèrumbét/serumbét | leopard |
| kírán/sírán | thing, animal |
| kùlút/sùlútét | type of snake |
| kùlúkùr/sùlúkúríṅ | wild pigeon |
| kàmbàlà/sàmbàlàt | camel |
| kòmbàlón/sùmbùlónó | striped hyena |
| kə̀m̀dí/sémdí | rat |
| kián/siánít | type of monitor lizard |

Plants and parts of plants:

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| kùbày-kùbày | type of durra |
| kə̀bláṅ/sìbláṅ | flower |
| kòfó/sòfó | tree |
| kíḍáṅ/síḍáṅ | leaf |
| kajjam/ ? | devil's thorn |
| kíjḡṅ/síjḡṅ | thorn |
| kùr/sùrn | palmyra |
| kìrár/sìrár | yam |
| káráryàn/? | type of spiralling weed |
| kìlál/sìlál | firewood |
| kàmbál/sàmbál | type of reed |
| kìmbàkól/sìmbàkól | bark (n.) |
| ?/sə̀m̀dú | ear of maize |
| sìnnár | type of durra |

The class prefix y(i)- is deleted when following the genitival linker. There are one or two examples indicating that this rule might be optional.

| | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| màrá wú-mbèt | goat path |
| tárák t-íngàt | eyelid |
| yarak y-ingat | eyelids |
| but: yòrò yí-yàrán | kraal for cows |
| kus k-ídír | backbone |
| but: kùs kí-yìndìr | bridge (of nose) |
| sam s-ingat | eyelashes |
| cín c-inat | pupil (of eye) |

IV. VERBS

The data in the NOTES on verb morphology are very sketchy. In particular, we have been unable to systematize the changes of vowels, tones, and, less frequently, consonants which occur in the various inflected forms so as to enable us to arrive at the basic forms of the verbal stems and of the inflectional affixes.

Inflection for person is marked by prefixes.

| | | | |
|---------|----|---------|----|
| 1st sg: | y- | 1st pl: | n- |
| 2nd sg: | w- | 2nd pl: | ŋ- |
| 3rd sg: | ø- | 3rd pl: | t- |

The 2nd person pl. prefix ŋ- usually changes a following front vowel to a back vowel of the same height.

The 3rd person sg. and pl. forms probably do not agree with the noun class of the subject. It should be noted, however, that no sentence has been recorded where the subject was not either a pronoun or a noun of cl.1 (w-) or cl.2 (LAB).

The paradigm of a regular verb includes at least the following four "tenses" which are exemplified below by the verb 'to see'.

present tense:

| | |
|--------|--------|
| y-ìlám | n-ìlám |
| w-ìlám | ŋ-ùlùm |
| ìlám | t-ìlèm |

past tense:

| | |
|--------|--------|
| y-ílám | n-ílám |
| w-ílám | ŋ-ílám |
| ílám | t-ílám |

imperative:

sg. k-ìlmé pl. k-ìlmé-dàn

negative imperative:

sg. ánák w-èlm-ò
pl. ánák ɲ-òlm-ò

The distinction between present and past tense is nearly always marked by tone, which is usually LH(H) in the present tense and HL(L) in the past tense. The pattern LL also occurs in the present tense as in the example above; it is possible that this is a hearing error cf. the variant yílám 'I see'.

t-íní they kill
t-ínì they killed

In addition to the tonal difference, some verbs also show a low vowel after the prefix in the present tense, and a front vowel in the past tense.

yándé I go yéndè I went
yáyá I drink yíyà I drank

An internal vowel change (and a different tone pattern) occurs with the verb 'to die'.

wúník you die wùnàk you died

In the imperative, some verbs take a prefix k-, and others take no prefix. No phonological conditioning has been found, but it is possible that only vowel-initial stems take this prefix, and if this were so, then k might originally have been part of the root. In addition, the formation of the imperative often involves vowel changes and/or the addition of a final vowel. - The plural of the imperative is formed by adding -tan to the singular.

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------|----------|
| pùró, pl. pùró-dán | cf. yùbí(r) | I beat |
| ndé, pl. ndé-dan | cf. yándé | I go |
| ɲéná, pl. ɲéná-dàn | cf. ɲìní | he knows |

| | | |
|----------------------|----------|-----------|
| k-íyà, pl. k-íyà-dàṅ | cf. àyá | he drinks |
| k-íyè, pl. k-íyè-dàn | cf. tìyè | they give |
| k-àná, pl. k-ana-dan | cf. ìní | he kills |

The negative imperative is formed by an invariable element *ánák* plus an inflected verb form. This verb form has the usual 2nd person prefixes, but the vowels and the tones of the stem differ from both the present and the past tense.

| | | |
|----------------------------|----------|-----------|
| ánák wónók, pl. ánák ṅónók | cf. ùnàk | he died |
| ánák wey, pl. ánák ṅoy | cf. wìyè | you give |
| ánák wíndù, pl. ánák ṅúndù | cf. éndè | he went |
| ánák wánàn, pl. ánák ṅónàn | cf. íní | he killed |

In two examples, the inflected verb form is preceded by *kò-*.

| | | |
|----------------|-------------|---------|
| ánák kò-wúbri | cf. yúbì(r) | I beat |
| ánák kò-wadíyù | cf. téy | he cuts |

Inflected verb forms similar to the ones found in the negative imperative are also found occasionally in positive commands. They may represent a subjunctive-like tense.

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| ṅ-ìsèrjék | defecate ! (pl.) |
| w-álgàllèk, pl. ṅ-ólṅàllèk | laugh ! |

(Cf. the imperatives for the verb 'to be' below.)

Several suppletive forms have been recorded for the verb 'to come'.

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--------|----------|
| wànjè | you come | ànjè | he comes |
| wàndit | you came | ṅandit | he came |
| ògò, pl. ògò-dàn | come! | | |
| ánák gwándìk | don't come! | | |

The verb 'to be' is inflected regularly, but has suppletive forms in the present and past tenses.

| | | |
|----------|-------|-----|
| present: | yén | nén |
| | wén | ṅón |
| | (ṅ)én | tén |

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| past: | yírìn | nírìn |
| | wírìn | ḡírìn |
| | írìn | tírìn |

The imperative of this verb is an inflected form which is preceded by ánák in the negative.

| | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|
| | sg. wáràk | pl. ḡóròk |
| neg. | sg. ánák wáràk | pl. ánák ḡóròk |

Negation of the verb is expressed by a prefix k-, and this form is followed by the verb 'to be' which is inflected for person. The only examples come from the verb 'to drink' and are preceded by the personal pronoun.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| tùgén k-àáyá ḡèn | he does not drink |
| nègén k-àáyá dèn | they do not drink |
| tùgén k-àáyá írìn | he did not drink |
| nègén k-àáyá dírìn | they did not drink |

Negation of the verb 'to be' is expressed by the form k-àrà in the present tense, and by k-ìrá(sg.)/k-ìrán(pl.) in the past tense.

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| yìgén k-àrà yén | I am not |
| nìgén k-àrà nén | we are not |
| yìgén k-ìrá yírìn | I was not |
| nìgén k-ìrán dírìn | we were not |

A set of conjunct object pronouns has been recorded, but only in connection with a 3rd person sg. subject.

| | |
|--------------|------------------|
| àd- | (he ...) me |
| nú- | (he ...) you sg. |
| ø (or: í- ?) | (he ...) him |
| àníng(ì)- | (he ...) us |
| núng(ì)- | (he ...) you |
| níng(ì)- | (he ...) them |

These forms are extracted from the following examples:

| | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Musa àdífàgnì | Musa àníngìfàgnì | Musa struck me, |
| Musa núfàgnì | Musa núngìfàgnì | etc. |
| Musa ífàgnì | Musa níngìfàgnì | |
| Musa àdúbìr | Musa beat me | |
| Musa núbìr | Musa beat you (sg.) | |

Note also the following imperative forms:

| | |
|------|---------------|
| áyà | give me |
| nìyè | give yourself |

A form similar to the 1st person sg. object pronoun as described above is also found in two other forms, i.e.:

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| yìgèn nìrs-àdẹ | I am afraid |
| yìgèn kalm-àdé | I am hungry |

Very likely, these forms could be translated as 'I have fear/hunger'. In that case, -àdé may have to be analysed as 'to-me-is'. Compare also the following form:

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| ùskén nìín nèyé | |
| knife teeth has ? | the knife is sharp |

A verb -er ('to do'?) occurs in the partial past tense paradigm 'dance'; the 1st person sg. pronoun is probably misspelled.

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| nìgèn kíláy y-ár | I (we?) danced |
| ògèn kíláy w-ér | you danced |
| tùgèn kíláy ɛr | he danced |

Various types of nouns may be derived from verbs. The examples are not numerous enough to permit the formulation of derivational rules.

t- agent nouns:

| | |
|-------|---------|
| t-ubi | beater |
| t-ínì | killers |

t- gerunds:

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| t-íyà, t-àyá | drinkable |
|--------------|-----------|

ŋ- *action nouns:*

ŋɪ-píndák *love*

ŋ-ìlám *sight*

V. VARIOUS NON-VERBAL, CLASSLESS WORDS

In this chapter, we shall deal with miscellaneous groups of words not described elsewhere, i.e. personal, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns, adverbials of place and time, conjunctions, and interjections.

Independent personal pronouns exist for three persons in the singular and the plural.

| | | | |
|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| 1st sg. | yìgǎn | 1st pl. | nìgǎn |
| 2nd sg. | ògǎn | 2nd pl. | nògǎn |
| 3rd sg. | tùgǎn | 3rd pl. | nègǎn |

The following spelling variants occur:

| | | | |
|---------|------|---------|-------|
| | | 1st pl. | nìgǎn |
| 2nd sg. | ògón | 2nd pl. | nògón |
| | | 3rd pl. | nègén |

It is not known whether the following interrogative pronouns show any form of number agreement.

| | |
|------------|--------|
| tájǐn | who? |
| tájǐn kùrú | whose? |
| agn | what? |
| négán | where? |

The following two forms, however, may well include the concordial element -c-.

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| (cín) cínàcèn | which (boy)? |
| cittákèr | other |

The following eight items are described as spatial adverbs or adnominals. They all start with t and are probably nouns belonging to gender 3.

| | |
|--------|------|
| tàkkáy | far |
| togot | near |

| | |
|-------|----------------------|
| tàgán | in(side) |
| tàgáy | in front (of) |
| tárán | outside |
| tàláf | (in the) middle (of) |
| tìlàn | above |
| tìyòm | below, down |

There are three spatial demonstratives which may be correlated with the three series of demonstratives (cf. pp. 43 ff.).

| | |
|-----|--|
| nèn | here (near speaker) |
| daŋ | there (near hearer) |
| dìk | there (far from both speaker and hearer) |

Another word for 'here' occurs in the following phrase (first item not identified).

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| cùgún tìnán | here he is! |
|-------------|-------------|

Finally, there is one reduplicated locative adverb.

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| kàdíŋ-kàdíŋ | behind |
|-------------|--------|

Some adverbs of time are described in the NOTES as being linked to the verbal inflection. They all occur before a present tense form.

| | |
|--------|----------------------|
| nímmá | [pres.progr.] |
| jógón | still; [pres.progr.] |
| fwòttó | not yet |
| ṣààn | then [future] |

Here are some examples with verb forms.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| yìgɛn nímmá yu yubi | I am beating |
| yìgɛn jógón yàyá | I am (still) drinking |
| yìgɛn fwòttó yaya | I have not yet drunk |
| yìgɛn ṣààn yàyá | (then) I shall drink |

In the first example, the status of the syllable yu is not clear. Also, it is likely that the verb should have a final consonant r, cf. 'beat'

-bir. Note also that the 'not-yet' form is built on the positive present tense.

Other temporal adverbs are:

| | |
|-----------|-------------|
| kàllà | now |
| yán-yáání | today |
| | cf. yàn sun |
| kàmmáám | tomorrow |
| yémbán | yesterday |
| wúmmànyó | late |
| kàmmámám | quickly |

Little is known about the position of these adverbs in sentences; but 'now' is documented in post-verbal, and 'tomorrow' in pre-verbal position.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| ògén wáyá kàllà | you are drinking now |
| ògén kàmmán wáyá | you will drink tomorrow |

Two particles, ko and na, have been recorded once each with the approximate meaning 'and':

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| yimbət ko sagyaŋ | goats and sheep |
| kúmún nà kúmún | twenty (ten-plus-ten) |

Finally, there are a number of interjections.

| | |
|------|-----------------------|
| éì | yes |
| áʔà | no |
| áylà | no |
| èlé | please |
| kəmə | please, help yourself |

VI. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON SYNTAX

The basic word order in verbal sentences appears to be Subject-Object-Verb.

nìgɛ́n ɲóóríg nòɲónyò
we Orig we-speak

yìrmóó y-áɬxàrtúúm ɲéggàíráá tóɲényò
people of-Khartum Arabic they-speak

The object also precedes the verb in the imperative.

cín ɲénàkà
boy call! = call the boy

yín yìttá éttà
charcoal one bring!

The same order is recorded for locative complements and verbs.

tiyom ɔptak
down it-fell

kàdíɲ-kàdíɲ àrnè
behind(-him) stand!

tìyòm kìyókò
down put(-it)!

The word order Subject-Verb-Object has been recorded in the following sentence:

tiras ton yoenak fàraɲ
bull that mounts cow

Nominal predicates consist of a noun or an adjective plus an inflected form of the verb 'to be'.

yirmo yeyyan tini ten
 people these killers they-are
 nègén nùlló dírin
 they good they-were

Negative verb forms appear to consist of a negative verbal noun plus an inflected form of the verb 'to be'.

nègén kàyá dírin
 they not-drinking they-were

Likewise, negative nominal predicates consist of (a noun or) an adjective followed by a negative verbal noun 'not-being' plus an inflected form of the verb 'to be'; cf. p.52. It seems that the adjective takes a suffix -ŋ in the past tense.

tùgén cùlló kàrà (ŋ)én
 he good not-being he-is
 nègén nùlló kàrà dén they ...
 tùgén cùllón kírà írin
 he good not-being he-was
 nègén nùllón kírán dírin they ...

In all our examples, when the subject is a personal pronoun (always referring to a human being) and the nominal predicate is an adjective, then the adjective belongs to gender 9/10: c-/p-; cf. also pp.45f.

In Chapter III we have noted that all modifiers follow their head noun. The relative order of various adverbs and verbs has been commented upon above on pp.56f. The following example possibly indicates that the negative marker of the imperative ánák precedes the object.

ánák nùlló ńóròk
 not good you-be!

In sentences where a gerund functions as the predicate, it follows the inflected verb 'to be'.

kìráán kíkán nèn tíyà
thing this it-is for-drinking

wùskén wèwán nèn kiran-tey
knife this it-is (thing?)-for-cutting

VII. ENGLISH - ORIG WORDLIST

This wordlist contains all lexical items occurring in the NOTES. Not included here are numerals above ten (cf. p.42), personal pronouns (cf. p.55), demonstratives (cf. pp.43ff.), possessives (cf. pp.45f.), temporal auxiliaries (cf. p.56), and verbal affixes (cf. Ch. IV, pp.49-54).

In principle, this wordlist gives all the alternative spellings of any given word in the NOTES. However, an alternative which differs only by the absence of a diacritic mark is not listed. Morphological variants, which occur primarily in the formation of plurals, are also listed in full. If an Orig word is known to be derived from a particular Arabic word, the latter is given in the transcription system used in WEHR (1958). For example, the item 'sheep' appears in the NOTES with the following spellings:

singular: kàgóy, kàgoy, kagoy
plural : sàgyán, sàgân, sogyan

These variant spellings have been summarized by the following notation system:

sheep kàgóy/sàgyán
 [pl. à/o, n/ŋ; /LHL]

A

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>above</i> | tɿlán [/LL; a/ə]. |
| <i>abscess, type 1</i> (big, in any part of body) | kóllògót/sóllògót; cf. <i>boil</i> n. |
| <i>abscess, type 2</i> (in groin) | yúrúnín/ńúrúnánín. |
| <i>adze</i> | álgàddúm/álgàddúmét; < Ar. <i>al-qaddūm</i> . |
| <i>air</i> | = <i>wind</i> . |
| <i>all</i> | -ùttú [/HL]. |
| <i>and</i> | 1. ko; yimbət ko sagyaŋ <i>goats and sheep</i> . 2. nà; kúmún nà kúmún <i>twenty</i> (lit. <i>ten and ten</i>). |
| <i>animal</i> | = <i>thing</i> . |
| <i>ankle</i> | yìrác/ńìrác; cf. <i>wrist</i> . |
| <i>ant, type 1</i> (big, black) | pùnùdín; p. pàttá <i>one ant</i> ; p. pùmmà <i>many ants</i> . |
| <i>ant, type 2</i> (small) | kúru/súru. |
| <i>ant, white</i> | v. <i>termite</i> . |
| <i>antelope, type 1</i> | córók/ńórgón. |
| <i>antelope, type 2</i> | nalat. |
| <i>anus</i> | yìlén/ńìlén [/LL]. |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>Arab</i> | kèd(i)ráá/síd(i)ráá; ṣṣgḍiráá <i>Arabic language.</i> |
| <i>arm, upper</i> | púr(ú)n/yìbùrn [pùrán/yùbùrnét, pl. /pùrùné]; <i>cf. hand/arm.</i> |
| <i>armpit</i> | kòrgán/sòrgàné [pl. o/o]. |
| <i>artery</i> | = <i>vein 2.</i> |
| <i>axe</i> | àmsúròm/àmsúrmanín. |

B

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>baboon</i> | cìndó/nìndó. |
| <i>baby</i> | ciṣ curyo (<i>lit. small child</i>)/niṣ nuryo ~ niṣ norundon ~ níṣ nórìndó. |
| <i>back</i> | yìdìr [/yìdìr, /HH]; <i>cf. pancreas.</i> |
| <i>bad</i> | -ìnéw [i/i, w/u]. |
| <i>banana</i> | mooz; < <i>Ar. mauz.</i> |
| <i>baobab</i> | <i>v. tree, types of trees.</i> |
| <i>bark (of tree)</i> | kìmbàkól/sìmbàkól. |
| <i>be</i> | <i>pres.</i> -én; <i>past</i> -írìn; <i>imp.</i> w-àràk, pl. ṣ-óròk; <i>neg.</i> k-àrà (<i>pres.</i>); k-ìrà (<i>past sg.</i>), k-ìrán (<i>past pl.</i>); <i>cf. pp. 51f.</i> |
| <i>bear (give birth)</i> | -inak [i/e, a/i]. |
| <i>beard</i> | kábú/sábú [a/ə]. |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>beat</i> | -bir-; |
| | pres. y-ùbí(r)/yìbèr; |
| | past. y-úbì(r)/yúbèr; |
| | imp. pùró, pl. pùró-dàn; |
| | neg. imp. áná kò-wúbrì, pl. áná k n-úbrî; |
| | obj. prefix àdúbìr, nubir he beat me, ..you; |
| | n. ag. t-úbí. |
| <i>bedstead/chair</i> | càngàrep; |
| | < Ar. ^ʿ anqaraib; |
| | cf. seat. |
| <i>bee</i> | yòmé/ḡòmé. |
| <i>beer (from millet)</i> | koret. |
| <i>behind</i> | kàdíṅ-kàdíṅ. |
| <i>bellow</i> | = skin. |
| <i>belly (upper part)</i> | kìmí/sìmí [/kímé]. |
| <i>below /down</i> | tìyòm [i/ø, m/n]; |
| | cf. lip. |
| <i>big</i> | -ùdìró. |
| <i>bile</i> | ḡáí ḡí dúríṅ [/ all L]; |
| | (lit. water of gall-bladder). |
| <i>bird</i> | cúdén/ṅúdén. |
| <i>bitter</i> | -èréý. |
| <i>black</i> | -èrmó [e/ee/ɪ/i]; |
| | cf. pupil, person (pl.), zebra. |
| <i>blood</i> | ḡó(y)í [/LL]; |
| | ḡòì ḡàttá one drop of blood. |
| <i>body</i> | yífçìn/ḡífçìn [yífçèn/ḡáfçèn]. |
| <i>boil n.</i> | kórdíṅ/sórdíṅ; |
| | cf. abscess. |
| <i>bone</i> | kús/sús; |
| | cf. skull, cartilage, jaw-bone. |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>bowel</i> | kéú/séú [e/ee]; cf. <i>intestines, rectum</i> . |
| <i>boy</i> | = <i>child</i> . |
| <i>brains</i> | yáràṅ/ṣáràṅ (karàṅ?) [/LL]. |
| <i>branch</i> | = <i>leaf</i> . |
| <i>breast (of woman)</i> | tíímín/ṣíímín, pl. /yíímín [ɪ/ə]. |
| <i>breast-bone</i> | = <i>liver</i> . |
| <i>bring</i> | 1. imp. éttà; 2. imp. wàndàdà. |
| <i>brother</i> | = <i>sibling</i> . |
| <i>brow</i> | pək/pìkát. |
| <i>buffalo</i> | faraṅ fi-jamus/yaraṅ yi-jamus (lit. <i>jamus-cow</i>); < Ar. <i>ḡāmus</i> . |
| <i>building site</i> | ṣúló. |
| <i>bull</i> | tírás/yírásín [sg. í/í/í; sg. /HL/LL]. |
| <i>buttock/thigh</i> | kàdèṅ/sèdìṅet. |
| <i>buy</i> | v. sell. |

C

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| <i>calf</i> | cím̀ròk/ṣím̀ròk, pl. /ṣím̀rógín [sg. /HHL/HH]. |
| <i>calf (of leg)</i> | cìṅát/yìṅát. |
| <i>call</i> | -ṣena(k); pres. y-ìṅénáy; past y-éṅèṅay; imp. ṅénàkà, pl. ṅénàká-tàn. |
| <i>camel</i> | kám̀bàlà/sám̀bàlàt; < Ar. <i>ḡamal</i> . |

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| <i>canine tooth</i> | tèrèm/ḡèrèmát. |
| <i>cartilage</i> | kus kallo/sus sallo (<i>lit. thin bone</i>). |
| <i>cat</i> | cìmàfút/ḡìmàfút. |
| <i>cave</i> | kùbàḡ/sùbàḡét. |
| <i>chair</i> | = <i>bedstead</i> . |
| <i>charcoal</i> | yìḡ/ḡìḡ; <i>sg.</i> : a piece of charcoal. |
| <i>cheek</i> | yìnèèè/ḡìnèèè [ee/e, n/ñ ?]. |
| <i>chest</i> | púrò/yíb(ɪ)rò; pl. /p(ù)rót [<i>sg.</i> u/u/ɪ/i/ø; /HH]. |
| <i>chicken</i> | kúdurík/súdurḡín [<i>sg.</i> í/í/é/ú]; ciduruk/ḡudurgḡnin <i>young chicken</i> . |
| <i>chief</i> | wùttár/yáttar. |
| <i>chief, paramount</i> | kú-júdrú/sá-ḡídrú; <i>cf. big</i> . |
| <i>child/boy/son</i> | cín/ḡín; <i>cf. mother-in-law</i> . |
| <i>chin</i> | wùlém/yìlémét [<i>pl.</i> -ét/-át]. |
| <i>circumcision</i> | 1. kòdìrén/ḡòdìrén, pl. /ḡudirinet; 2. ḡis(i)lèt [e/ε, i/ɪ ?]. |
| <i>clitoris</i> | cúdín/ḡúdínét [<i>sg.</i> /LH]. |
| <i>cloth/dress</i> | kóbàḡ/sóbàḡ. |
| <i>coldness</i> | yòs. |
| <i>come</i> | <i>pres.</i> (y-, w-, n-, ḡ-)ànjè (<i>3rd sg.</i> = <i>3rd pl.</i>); <i>past</i> (y-, w-, n-, ḡ-, t-)àndít [t/k]; <i>imp.</i> ògò, pl. ògò-dàn [<i>sg.</i> /HH, pl. /HH-HL]; <i>neg. imp.</i> ánáḡ gw-ándìk. |
| <i>copulate</i> (<i>of animals</i>) | tiras ton yoenak fàḡraḡ <i>bull that covers cow</i> ; <i>cf. bear</i> . |

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| <i>copulate</i> (of humans) | I. cigat con edam I. girl that had-sex-with. |
| <i>corpse</i> | túrúk/yúrúk. |
| <i>cough</i> n. | ḡòllén; wòllén/sòllḡḡḡt [n/ḡ, g/ḡ]. |
| <i>courtyard</i> | sàríf; ' Ar. zarḡba ? |
| <i>cow</i> | fḡrán/yàrán; fàrán tàrúk/yàrán tàrúkít cow without milk; cf. pregnant, sterile, calf, bull, heifer, buffalo. |
| <i>cress</i> (Ar. ḡarḡḡr) | cagan/nagan. |
| <i>cut</i> | -dey; pres. y-, w-èdí, téy, tá-dèy; past y-édèy, (y-, w-, t-)édì; imp. tìyá, pl. tìyákà; neg. imp. áná kò-w-adíyù, áná ḡ-ódíyù. |

D

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| <i>dance</i> n. | kìláy; k. y-ár, k. w-ér, k. ɛr I/you/(s)he danced; keḡan kekkan nen ka-gláy ɛr song this here (is) for-dancing. |
| <i>darkness</i> | yèù tìrám (lit. place - night ?) |
| <i>date</i> (palm) | v. tree, types of trees. |
| <i>day</i> | yílán/ḡlálán. |
| <i>daylight</i> | kàḡó/yàḡó. |

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| <i>debauchee</i> | ka-jɔgrɔt/sa-jɔgrɔt [kájó(1)grɔt/sɛno noroton]; cf. rotten ? |
| <i>defecate</i> | -serjɛk; past (?) y-éserjɛk; imp. sɛrjék, pl. ɲì-; neg. imp. nèn kɪjònɔu, pl. nén kɪjònɔu-táán. |
| <i>detest</i> | pres. yìgɛn ágrí yìɲér. |
| <i>devil's thorn</i> (<i>tribulus terrestris</i> : a spreading herb of waste places) | kajjam. |
| <i>dibble, type 1</i> | (y)ítíc/ɲítíjìt. |
| <i>dibble, type 2</i> (for planting cotton) | kèdɛɲ/sèdɛɲ. |
| <i>die</i> | -unak; pres. (y-, w-, t-)ùník; past (y-, w-, t-)ùnàk; imp. k-ùnúkù, pl. k-ùnúkù-dan; neg. imp. áná k w-/ɲ-ónók. |
| <i>difficult, fierce</i> | -ànó [ɔ/u]. |
| <i>do ?</i> | -ɛr; cf. dance. |
| <i>dog</i> | wùsù/yúsúwèn [sg. /HH; pl. è/i; pl. /LHL/LHH]. |
| <i>donkey</i> | cá(n)dúm/ɲà(n)dùmét; cf. zebra. |
| <i>door</i> | sìdádè/sìdádàn; < Ar. <i>sidāda</i> . |
| <i>doorway</i> | yídá/ɲídá. |

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| <i>dream</i> | <p><i>noun:</i> ṛòṛínnèy [/HHH];</p> <p><i>verb:</i> yìgḡen yùgun y-ìnnéy</p> <p>I (sleep) dreamt.</p> |
| <i>drink/eat</i> | <p>-iya;</p> <p><i>pres.</i> (y-, w-, n-, t-)àyá, ṛ-òyó;</p> <p><i>past</i> y-, w-, n-, t-íyà, yâ (3rd sg.), ṛíyò</p> <p>[ɪ/i];</p> <p><i>imp.</i> k-íyà, pl. k-íyà-dàṇ</p> <p>[/k-ìyá, pl. k-íyé-dàn/LHH];</p> <p>yìgḡen fwòttó yeiwak</p> <p>I not-yet have-eaten;</p> <p><i>neg. imp.</i> 1. ánáḡ w-àyi/ṛ-òyi;</p> <p>2. kìjòy, pl. kìjòy-dàṇ;</p> <p><i>neg.</i> k-àyá;</p> <p><i>gerund</i> t-àyá.</p> |
| <i>drum</i> | <p>nùkàrà/núkàrát;</p> <p>< Ar. nuqqāra.</p> |
| <i>drumstick(s)</i> | tambal. |
| <i>durra, type 1</i> | <p>yimín/ṛimín;</p> <p>cf. ear of durra.</p> |
| <i>durra, type 2</i> (white durra ?) | kùbày-kùbày. |
| <i>durra, type 3</i> (white durra, shuttle-shaped seeds ?) | wùndágàn. |
| <i>durra, type 4</i> (white, round ?) | sinnár. |
| <i>dust</i> | túlāṇ. |
| <i>dwarf</i> | càndèrè/ṇàndèrè. |

E

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|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>ear</i> | fìnnín/yìfnín [pl. /yìfnínèt]. |
| <i>ear of durra</i> | káí k-ímínì/sáít sí-ṣmìn (lit. <i>head of durra</i>). |
| <i>ear of maize</i> | sámdu. |
| <i>ear-wax</i> | tìṅgáf [a/ə, /LL]. |
| <i>earth/ground</i> | kèbér/sèbér [ə/a, /LHL/HH]. |
| <i>eat</i> | = <i>drink</i> . |
| <i>egg</i> | yé/ṣíyé; cf. <i>red</i> . |
| <i>eight</i> | tùppá. |
| <i>elbow/fontanel</i> | tùlú/yùlút [sg. /LL/HL; tòlúṅ, pl. tòlùṅán]. |
| <i>elephant</i> | fàṅán/fàṅànat; cf. <i>ivory</i> . |
| <i>excrements/chyme</i> | síngín; cf. <i>rectum</i> . |
| <i>excrements</i> (of animals) | yìndàk/ṣándàk. |
| <i>eye</i> | yíṅgát/ṣíṅgát [sg. i/ɪ, /HH]; cf. <i>brow, lid, eyelash</i> . |
| <i>eyelash</i> | kam k-ṅgat/sam s-ṅgat (lit. <i>hair(s) of eye</i>). |

F

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| <i>face/forehead</i> | tóm/yǝmát [a/i]. |
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| <i>fall</i> | tiyom ɔptak <i>on the ground it fell.</i> |
| <i>far</i> | tàkkáy. |
| <i>fat</i> | yáráf/ḡáráf. |
| <i>father</i> | àppá/àppánàt. |
| <i>fear</i> n. | ḡírís; yìgəṇ ḡìrs-ḡdḡ <i>I fear-have (?)</i> . |
| <i>female</i> | -íyánú [ɪ/i, ʊ/o, n/nn; /LLL/LHH]. |
| <i>fence</i> | yḡróṇ/ḡḡróṇ. |
| <i>finger/toe</i> | càlál/ṇàlál [sg. /HH]; <i>cf. thumb, nail.</i> |
| <i>fire</i> | kìbí/sìbìyán [sg. /kɪbɪɪ]. |
| <i>firewood</i> | kìlál/sìlál. |
| <i>first-born son</i> (n. pr.) | cìríyá/ṇìríá. |
| <i>fish</i> | sòkògmát [ò/ò/ù]. |
| <i>fist</i> | 1. (<i>forearm</i> ?) cəmbə̀r/ṇəmbə̀rát; 2. udut munni. |
| <i>five</i> | wḡràṁ (<i>prefix w-</i> ?). |
| <i>flower</i> | kḡbláṇ/sìbláṇ. |
| <i>fontanel</i> | = elbow. |
| <i>foot</i> | wúdá/yúdá. |
| <i>foot/leg</i> | tègàṇ/ḡègàṇ [/LH/HH]. |
| <i>forehead</i> | = face. |
| <i>foreskin</i> | cóù/ṇòwót [sg. ɔ/o; pl. /HH]. |
| <i>forest/bush</i> | tìráṁ. |
| <i>four</i> | -àrùm [/HH]. |

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| <i>fowl, wild; type 1</i> | yòfáŋ/ŋòfə́ŋát. |
| <i>fowl, wild; type 2</i> | yòyòŋ/ŋòyòŋ; <i>cf. guinea-fowl.</i> |
| <i>frog</i> | kòróŋ/sòrmót; <i>cf. toad.</i> |
| <i>front, in front of</i> | tàgáy. |
| <i>fruit</i> | <i>v. tree, types of trees.</i> |

G

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| <i>gall-bladder</i> | túríŋ/yúríŋàt [a/e]; <i>cf. bile.</i> |
| <i>gazelle</i> | úsèrèn/yìsìrnìdìn. |
| <i>giraffe</i> | wàlèc/yiljon. |
| <i>girl</i> | cìgát/yìgát [pl. g/ŋ]. |
| <i>give</i> | -iye; <i>pres. yè (1st sg.), w-, t-ìyè;</i> <i>past yè (1st = 3rd sg.), w-ìyé;</i> <i>imp. k-ìyé [/HL] give (him)!, pl. k-ìyè-dàn;</i> <i>áyà give me!, nìyè give yourself!;</i> <i>neg. imp. áná k w-ey/ŋ-oy.</i> |
| <i>go</i> | -nde; <i>pres. (y-, w-)àndé (3rd sg. = 3rd pl.);</i> <i>past (y-, w-, t-)éndè;</i> <i>imp. nde, pl. ndé-dan;</i> <i>neg. imp. áná k w-úndù/ŋ-úndù.</i> |
| <i>goat</i> | mbét/yimbét; <i>cf. he-goat, kid.</i> |

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| <i>God</i> | almula; < Ar. <i>al-maulā</i> . |
| <i>good</i> | -ùlló. |
| <i>granary</i> | tífìràṅ/yáfráṅít. |
| <i>grandfather/</i> <i>grandparent</i> | èmmé/èmménèt [e/i; pl. /LLL]. |
| <i>grandmother</i> | àccá/àccánát. |
| <i>grass</i> | tàgàs. |
| <i>grave</i> | tittàm/yéttém [pl. /yáttámít]. |
| <i>groin</i> | yìndèp/ṇìndèp [e/ε; sg. /HL, pl. /LH]. |
| <i>ground</i> | = <i>earth</i> . |
| <i>groundnuts</i> | ṇalful; < Ar. <i>al-fūl</i> . |
| <i>groundnut dregs</i> | tif. |
| <i>guinea-fowl</i> | wit/yìdin; <i>cf. fowl, wild</i> . |
| <i>gum (of teeth)</i> | kùdúm/sùdúm [/kùdóm]. |
| <i>gun</i> | àlbúndú/àlbúndét; < Ar. <i>al-bunduqīya</i> . |

H

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| <i>hair (of head)</i> | kám/sám; <i>cf. eyelash</i> . |
| <i>hair (of body)</i> | kar/sar. |
| <i>hair, pubic</i> | kìndàr/sìndàr. |
| <i>hand/arm</i> | cìṇén/ṇìṇén, pl. /yìṇán [ṇ/g, ə/a/e]; <i>cf. arm, palm, wrist</i> . |

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| <i>hare</i> | cín/nìnéť. |
| <i>head</i> | káí/sáí(t) [ɪ/ɪ̃/i, pl. /HL]; cf. <i>ear of durra</i> . |
| <i>head, back of</i> | yìndón/ṇìndòṇít [ɪ/i, i/ə, pl. /LHH]. |
| <i>heart</i> | yùr/ṇùréť [sg. also: yíréť?]; cf. <i>intestines</i> . |
| <i>heel</i> | yìdìmbók/ṇìdìmbòkét. |
| <i>he-goat</i> | woy/yuwoyin [pl. /yuwuyin/yuwujin]; cùwòy/ṇùwòyìn. |
| <i>heifer</i> | wùdés/yìdèsēn. |
| <i>here</i> (near speaker) | 1. nèn; 2. cùgún tìnán <i>here he is!</i> |
| <i>hill/mountain</i> | kìbíí/sìbíí [ɪɪ/ɪ, sg. /k'íbíí]; cf. <i>Taqali</i> . |
| <i>hoe, type 1</i> (small) | yólán/ṇólánít. |
| <i>hoe, type 2</i> (straight, with long handle) | coṇjcoṇ/ṇúṇjúní. |
| <i>hoe, type 3</i> (blade set at right angles to the handle) | kàdánkàn/sìdánkán. |
| <i>hoe, type 4</i> | tùríyà/toari; < Ar. <i>tūrīya</i> . |
| <i>honey</i> | sîi. |
| <i>horn</i> | 1. tūrìn/ṇūrìn; 2. murìn/murkok. |
| <i>horn (for blowing)</i> | tur. |
| <i>horse</i> | marda/yimardat. |

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|------------------------|--|
| <i>house</i> | kùnín/sùnín; cf. <i>hut</i> . |
| <i>hunger</i> | kalm; yigen kalm àde I <i>hunger have</i> (?). |
| <i>husband</i> | = <i>person</i> . |
| <i>hut (small)</i> | kábà/sábà; cf. <i>house</i> . |
| <i>hyena (striped)</i> | kòmbàlón/sùmbùlónó. |

I

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| <i>ice/snow</i> | yélnán/ḡálnán. |
| <i>in(side)</i> | tàgán. |
| <i>intestines 1</i> (stomach, heart, lungs) | kíréf/síréf [ə/ɪ/e; /LL]. |
| <i>intestines 2</i> (digestive tract) | tírél/ḡírél [ɪ/i/ɛ]; pl. /yírél [i/ɛ]; cf. <i>bowel</i> . |
| <i>iron</i> | kàmsék/simsìkét; ḡarḡan ḡa-kamsak <i>iron ore</i> (lit. <i>stones of iron</i>). |
| <i>ivory</i> | tinen ti-faḡan/ḡanen ḡa-faḡan lit. <i>tooth/teeth of elephant</i>). |

J

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| jaw (lower) | cìṇàráṃ/ṇìṇàráṃ. |
| (also: tonsil ?) | |
| jaw-bone | kus ki-kenjek (<i>lit. bone of mouth</i>). |

K

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| kid | címnàn/ṇímnàn. |
| kidney | yìràt/ṇùrtò. |
| kill | -ini; <i>pres.</i> (y-, w-, t-)íní; <i>past</i> (y-, w-, t-)ínì; <i>imp.</i> k-àná, <i>pl.</i> k-ana-dan; <i>neg. imp.</i> ánáḱ w-ánàn/ṇ-ónàn; <i>n. ag.</i> tíni (<i>pl.</i>). |
| knee | yìmbó/ṇìmbó, <i>pl.</i> /yímbóṇít ?; <i>hollow of the knee = wrist.</i> |
| knife, type 1 (small, used for harvesting) | bìsìr/bìsírít. |
| knife, type 2 (small) | wùskín/yìskínít [<i>sg.</i> /wùskén]; < <i>Ar. sikkīn.</i> |
| know | -ṇini; <i>present or past ?</i> (yì-, wì-)ṇìní; <i>imp.</i> ṇèná, <i>pl.</i> ṇèná-dàn; <i>neg. imp.</i> ánáḱ w-àṇyén/ṇ-òṇyén. |

kraal yòrò/yórìò;
cf. *fence*.

L

lake ñày cìrén (*lit. water ...?*).
(or: *well* ?)

lamb cągóy/ñagyán;
cf. *sheep*.

larynx yòllóm/ñòllòmèt, *pl.* /yòllòmèt
[ə/ə; *sg.* /LL; *pl.* /LHH/HHH].

late wùmmànyó.

laugh -algalyak;
pres. y-, w-, n-álgàlyàk;
past y-, n-élgàlyàk;
imp. w-álgàllèk, *pl.* ñ-ólgàllèk (!);
neg. imp. ánák w-áálgàllèk;
noun àalgàlyàk *laughter*.

leaf/branch kídáñ/sídáñ [a/e; HH/LL; kèdésñ/sìdòñót].

leave off -bìrni;
pres. yì-, wù-, nì-bìrni, pìrni;
past yí-, ní-, tí-bìrni;
imp. pérnè, *pl.* pèrnàn;
neg. imp. ánák w-àbèrcàn/ñ-òbèrcàn.

leg = *foot*.

leg, lower téndèn/ñedènit.

leg, upper/thigh kàrná/sàrná.

leopard kèrumbét/sèrumbét.

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| <i>lid of eye</i> | tàrǎk t-íngàt/yárák y-íngat [sg. ... tá-ngàt] (lit. skin of eye). |
| <i>lion</i> | (w)ùrìmán/(y)ìrìmánìt. |
| <i>lip</i> | kìnsi; kìnsi ki-dyom lower lip. |
| <i>liver/breast bone</i> | kǎngát/sǎngǎdát [pl. /són(g)át/sòngòtót]. |
| <i>lizard, type 1</i> | kòbùlé/sòbùlé. |
| <i>lizard, type 2</i> (monitor, lives on hills) | kíán/síánít. |
| <i>lizard, type 3</i> (monitor, lives in water) | kìrís/sìrísít. |
| <i>lobe of ear</i> | pîn/pîné. |
| <i>long/tall</i> | -ùrtù. |
| <i>love v.</i> | -findak; pres. nù-fùndàk (1st sg., 1st, 2nd, 3rd pl.?), wù- (2nd sg.), yì- (3rd sg.); past (yì-, wù-, nè-, nù-, tì-)fìndàk; imp. fìndákè, pl. fìndákkè-tà; neg. imp. ánákw-ééfìndék/η-ófòndék; noun ηìpíndák. |
| <i>lungs</i> | v. intestines. |

M

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| <i>magician</i> | kùjúr. |
| <i>maize</i> | ǎdǎpá; cf. ear of maize. |

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| <i>male</i> <i>adj.</i> | -littó [/HH; tt/t]. |
| <i>male</i> <i>n.</i> ? (<i>of sheep, goats,</i> <i>etc.</i>) | kàdìré/sìdirenin, pl. /sidirin [a/e]; kagoy wudire/sogyaṇ sidirenin <i>ram.</i> |
| <i>man</i> | kì-jàt/sì-ṇàt. |
| <i>many/much</i> | -ùmmà(n) [/HH; a/u]. |
| <i>marrow</i> | tàyú. |
| <i>meat</i> | yífí/ṇífí [ṇ/ɲ]. |
| <i>medicine</i> (<i>from trees</i>) | 1. tìgí/yágyáṇ; <i>cf. root;</i> 2. dawa; < Ar. <i>dawā</i> ? |
| <i>middle, in the middle</i> <i>of</i> | tǎláf. |
| <i>milk</i> | ṇǎn. |
| <i>molar (tooth)</i> | wùrágàn/ṇàrágàn. |
| <i>monkey, type 1</i> (<i>small, red</i>) | mǎṇ/múṇìn. |
| <i>monkey, type 2</i> | wús/yúsén; <i>cf. baboon.</i> |
| <i>moon</i> | cór/ṇórón; cor úfrî <i>waxing moon.</i> |
| <i>mother</i> | ànná/ànnánìt [pl. /LLL]. |
| <i>mother-in-law</i> | 1. ódó/ódót; 2. anna wu-jiṇ (<i>lit. mother of the children</i>). |
| <i>mountain</i> | = <i>hill.</i> |
| <i>mouse, type of</i> | cìrrùwán/ṇàrrùwán; <i>cf. wild cat.</i> |
| <i>moustache</i> | ʃanab; < Ar. <i>šanab</i> ; <i>cf. beard.</i> |

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|------------------------|---|
| mouth | kànjàk/sìnjìgót [a/ε; pl. /LHL]; cf. jaw-bone. |
| mucus (of the nose) | singir. |
| mud | ɲíló. |
| murderer | yagurat (pl.). |

N

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|-------------------------|---|
| nail (of finger/toe) | caìàl jí-dàráŋ/ɲàlál ní-dàráŋ (lit. finger of outside). |
| name | péŋán/pìŋnít [ε/e; pl. uncertain]. |
| navel | yímri/ɲímri [pl. /ɲimri/ɲámri; sg. and pl. mr/rm; HL/HHL]. |
| navel-string | tíyù. |
| near | toɡot. |
| neck, nape of neck | tàgám/yògmát. |
| night | kìrim/sìrìmét [sg. /kìràŋ]; cf. darkness. |
| nine | kúmnàsá(n); cf. kúmán ten. |
| no | 1. áylà; 2. áʔà. |
| nose | yíndír/ɲíndír [ɪ/i], sg. /yíndír; cf. nostril, mucus. |
| nostril | yindaan/ɲíndaáŋít [pl. /yindaanít]. |
| now | kàllà. |

Nuba máŋgâ/yémáŋgâ.

O

obey pres. y-íjèwê;
past y-ìjèwén.
oil zeet;
< Ar. *zait*.
old (not young) -ìlét/-ìlídín.
one -ǵttá [/HH].
other cìttákèr (c- concord ?).
outside taran [n/ŋ];
cf. *nail*.

P

palate ká(á)rkàdàk/sárkàdàk [pɫ. /HLH].
palm (of hand) yúr/yúrit.
palm-tree v. *tree, types of trees*.
pancreas ? yírét yí-kídír (lit. *spleen of back*).
pebble yáf/ŋáfín.
pencil gálám/sálmát;
< Ar. *qalam*.
penis yìdál/ŋìdál [pɫ. /ŋɔdal].

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| person/woman/spouse | kúmbú/yìrmú [p ^l . ɪ/i/e, u/o/oo; sg. /HL]; kúmbú kírín [/LL-LH, n/ŋ] <i>my husband/my wife.</i> <i>cf. black.</i> |
| physician 1 | hakiim; ◁ Ar. ḥakīm. |
| physician 2 | doktoor/dakaatar; ◁ Ar. duktūr. |
| pig | kàdìrú/sàdìrú; <i>cf. Sudan-Ar. kadrūk.</i> |
| pigeon, domesticated | hamam/hamam(m)aat; ◁ Ar. ḥamām. |
| pigeon, wild | kýlúkùr/súlúkúrín. |
| pipe (for tobacco) | kádós/kàdòsát; ◁ Sudan-Ar. kadōs. |
| place | yèù; <i>cf. darkness.</i> |
| please! | èlé. |
| please, help yourself! | kāmá. |
| porcupine | wor/yoron, p ^l . /woron. |
| pores (of skin) | mùsáán; ◁ Ar. masāmm. |
| porridge (made from durra flour) | sin. |
| potato, sweet | bòmbé; ◁ Ar. bambay. |
| pregnant | -ráídú/-ràidùát; fàràŋ fráídú/yàràŋ yàràidùát <i>a pregnant cow.</i> |
| pupil (of eye) | yíngat yèèrmó (<i>lit. black eye</i>). |
| pus | ŋìrìŋ. |

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|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>put (down)</i> | tìyòm kìyókò (k- prefix ?) |
| | <i>down put !</i> |
| <i>python</i> | <i>v. snake, types of snakes.</i> |

Q

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|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>quickly</i> | kàm(m)ámám [/LLH]. |
|----------------|--------------------|

R

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|----------------------|---|
| <i>rain n.</i> | yàù. |
| <i>rainmaker</i> | dəlu/dálwán. |
| <i>ram</i> | <i>v. male n.</i> |
| <i>rat</i> | kəmdí/səmdí. |
| <i>rectum</i> | kéú kì-sìngìn (<i>lit. bowel of excrements</i>). |
| <i>red</i> | -àráú [/LHL]; <i>cf. yolk.</i> |
| <i>reed, type of</i> | kàmbál/sàmbál. |
| <i>river</i> | kòjìlák/sòjìlàngót. |
| <i>road</i> | màrá/màrnát [<i>sg.</i> /HH]. |
| <i>rock</i> | yìnéndàr/ɲìnéndàr [yìnándàr/ɲìnándàràŋ; yìnéndak/ɲinendrak]. |
| <i>root/vein</i> | tìgíljà/yágíljùèt [<i>sg.</i> /LLL; <i>pl.</i> yégéljùèt]; <i>cf. medicine.</i> |
| <i>rotten/evil</i> | -ṣṣ(ṣ)rót [/HH/LL]. |

S

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| <i>salt 1</i> | mìndó. |
| <i>salt 2</i> (extracted from goats' faeces) | názáb. |
| <i>salty soil</i> | kìrmá/sìrmá. |
| <i>sand</i> | kàfəŋ. |
| <i>sand, grain of</i> | cífɲànjòr/ɲáfɲànjòr. |
| <i>scorpion</i> (the constellation scorpio) | wúdíŋ. |
| <i>scrotum</i> | tófé/yófé. |
| <i>seat</i> (also: Great Bear: ursa maior) | wəŋgàryán/yəŋgàryánít; cf. <i>bedstead</i> . |
| <i>second-born son</i> (n. pr.) | cùrí/ɲùrí. |
| <i>see</i> | -ilam; pres. y-ìlám [/LH], (w-, n-)ìlám, ɲ-úlùm, t-ìlèm; past (y-, w-, n-, t-)ílám, ɲ-úlùm; imp. k-ìlmé, pl. k-ìlmé-dàn; neg. imp. áná k w-èlmò/ɲ-òlmò; noun ɲìlám; yìlàŋ (?) <i>sight</i> . |
| <i>sell (buy ?)</i> | -gan; (bāʿa 'sell', but 'buy' in Sudan-Ar.); pres. y-ìgní/y-ignay; past y-ígnì; imp. káná, pl. káná-dàn; |

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| | <i>neg. imp.</i> ánák w-ágàn/η-ógòn; <i>n. ag.</i> ? kèní, <i>pl.</i> kènéy (?). |
| <i>sesame</i> | yádán [n/η]. |
| <i>sesame seed(s)</i> | pen. |
| <i>seven</i> | ùmùrgú. |
| <i>shade of human body/ soul/spirit</i> | tàglám/yìglèmèt. |
| <i>shame</i> | ηúmán. |
| <i>sharp</i> | yìskínít ηìpín nègìyé <i>knives teeth (have ?);</i> <i>cf. p.53.</i> |
| <i>sheep</i> | kàgóy/sàgyán [<i>pl.</i> à/o, n/η; /LHL]; <i>cf. lamb, male n.</i> |
| <i>sheepfold</i> | tàmbàn/yàmbànít. |
| <i>shield</i> | kàttíbak. |
| <i>short</i> | -òdùàη. |
| <i>shoulder</i> | kìllí/sìllí. |
| <i>sibling</i> (brother/sister) | ηìdé/ηìdénét. |
| <i>sick</i> | -ìyú. |
| <i>sister</i> | = <i>sibling</i> . |
| <i>sit</i> | <i>pres.</i> y-ùdínì; <i>past</i> y-ùdén. |
| <i>six</i> | nérer. |
| <i>skin/bellow</i> | tá(á)rák/yá(á)rák [tə̀rək/yàràgàt]; <i>cf. lid.</i> |
| <i>skull</i> | kus ki-gai (<i>lit. bone of head</i>). |
| <i>sky</i> | kìdèk. |

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|---|---|
| <i>slave</i> | wómí/yòmíát; cf. <i>steal</i> . |
| <i>sleep</i> | noun yúgán; pres. yìgẹ́n íjré; past yìgẹ́n yùgún yìjré; yìgẹ́n yugan adagam I <i>sleep get</i> (?); cf. <i>dream</i> . |
| <i>small</i> | -ùryó [/LL/HH] [u/o/u, yɔ/ɔ̃o/u]; cf. <i>baby</i> . |
| <i>smell</i> | -ṇan; past y-iṇan. |
| <i>smoke</i> | kìrèk. |
| <i>snake</i> | wín/yínét. |
| <i>types of snakes</i> | 1. (<i>strikes with tail, python</i> ?) wàm/yàmát. 2. kùlút/sùlútét. 3. <i>python</i> win ábúlwán/yínét abulwanet. |
| <i>snow</i> | = <i>ice</i> . |
| <i>son</i> | = <i>child</i> . |
| <i>song</i> | kẹ̀ṇàn [/kénán]. |
| <i>sorcerer</i> | fàgìr; < Ar. <i>faqīr</i> ; cf. <i>witch</i> . |
| <i>soul</i> | = <i>shade</i> . |
| <i>speak</i> | -ṇanyo; pres. n-ṇónyo [o/ɔ], t-ṇenyoy. |
| <i>spear</i> | màrás/yimàrsín [pl. /HHH]. |
| <i>spirit, evil</i> (<i>living in trees,</i> <i>etc.</i>) | àllàn/àllànát. |

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| <i>spleen</i> | 1. yírét/ḡírét; cf. <i>pancreas</i> . 2. tísál/tísálát; < Ar. ṭihāl. |
| <i>spring n.</i> | māʃiʃ. |
| <i>stand</i> | 1. -rna; pres. y-ḡrnà; past y-ḡrnà; imp. àrnè. 2. pres. y-ùrùrí; past y-ùrùrì. |
| <i>star</i> | tèlén/ḡélḡt; cf. <i>seat/ursa maior, scorpion /scorpio</i> . |
| <i>steal</i> | -onjak [o/ɔ, i/i]; pres. y-onḡák; past y-onḡàk; wómí ònniàk <i>slave-raider (cf. slave)</i> . |
| <i>sterile</i> | -àndíc/-àndìjót; kúmbú k- /yèrmó y- <i>a sterile woman</i> ; fàraḡ f- /yaraḡ y- <i>a sterile cow</i> . |
| <i>stick</i> | 1. (y)ḡḡòré/ḡḡòryḡḡ; 2. mínjék. |
| <i>stomach</i> | cíbáy; cf. <i>belly, intestines</i> . |
| <i>stomach, 2nd chamber of the stomach of ruminants</i> | càmà/ḡàmà. |
| <i>stone</i> | yḡḡàḡ/ḡàḡḡàḡ [sg. /HH; pl. /HHL]; cḡḡḡàḡ/ḡḡḡḡàḡ <i>small stone</i> ; cf. <i>iron, pebble, rock</i> . |

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| <i>strike</i> | -fagni; Musa ífàgnì <i>M. struck (him)</i> (NOTES: <i>M. stroke him !?</i>); (for forms with conjunct object pronouns, <i>cf. pp.52f.</i>). |
| <i>sun</i> | yàn. |
| <i>sweat</i> | késán. |

T

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>tail</i> | tìk/yìk. |
| <i>Taqali</i> | tǝǝǝlǝ the village T.; wǝǝǝlǝ/yǝǝǝlǝ person/people from T.; ŋǝǝǝlǝ language of T.; kìbíí kí-dógòlè Mt. T. (<i>cf. hill</i>). |
| <i>taste</i> | -daŋal; past y-idaŋal. |
| <i>tears</i> | ŋǝwán [ǝ/ò; /LL]. |
| <i>tear duct</i> | ŋìndà. |
| <i>ten</i> | kúmán [á/ú]. |
| <i>tendon (of leg)</i> | = wrist. |
| <i>termite</i> | wùrá(n) [/LL]. |
| <i>testicle</i> | yìrèwén/ŋìrèwén [é/ú; / all H]. |
| <i>there</i> (near hearer) | daŋ. |
| <i>there</i> (far from both speaker and hearer) | dìk [ɪ/e]; tìk tàkkáy there far away. |

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|---|---|
| <i>thief</i> | wàróræk/yùrúgànnì. |
| <i>thigh</i> | = <i>leg, upper</i> ; <i>cf. buttock.</i> |
| <i>thin</i> | -àlló; <i>cf. cartilage.</i> |
| <i>thing/animal</i> | kírán/sírán [á/áá; n/ŋ; /LH]. |
| <i>third-bon son</i> (<i>n. pr.</i>) | calo/palo. |
| <i>thorn</i> | kíjén/síjén. |
| <i>three</i> | -ìttá. |
| <i>throat</i> | = <i>intestines 2.</i> |
| <i>thumb</i> | kàlál/sàlál; <i>cf. finger.</i> |
| <i>toad</i> | coròm/pòròmòt; <i>cf. frog.</i> |
| <i>tobacco</i> | tábà; < <i>Ar. tābā.</i> |
| <i>today</i> | yán-yáání; <i>cf. sun.</i> |
| <i>toe</i> | = <i>finger.</i> |
| <i>tomorrow</i> | kàmmáám [/kàmmán/kùmmán]. |
| <i>tongue,</i> <i>pl. also: language</i> | téŋlák/ŋéŋlák, <i>pl. /yéŋlák [/yáŋùlák].</i> |
| <i>tonsil</i> | <i>v. jaw.</i> |
| <i>tooth</i> | tìŋnèn/ŋìŋnèn [e/i; /LH]; <i>cf. ivory, canine tooth, molar (tooth).</i> |
| <i>tower</i> (<i>in fields</i>) | tiŋgil/yìŋgìlit. |

town

medina;

< Ar. *madīna*.

tree

kòfó/sòfó [sg. /LL].

types of trees

1. baobab (*adansonia digitata*, S.Ar. *tebelḏī*)

wór/yoron, pl. yíwúrín;

cf. *um-kaddaqī* tree.2. date-palm (*phoenix dactylifera*, Ar. *nahl*)

wèdèmèr;

< Ar. *tamr* date(fruit);

yìdàmàr/ṇèdèmèr [ə/a] date.

3. dour-palm (*hyphaene thebaica*, Ar. *daum*)

wàndók;

yàmdók/ṇàmdók fruit of dour-palm.

4. hammet (S.Ar. , a nut-bearing tree ?)

píl/yìbílik.

5. jimmida (S.Ar. , a sycamore ?)

wųryán/yìwųryán(ìt) [ŋ/n].

6. laloba (S.Ar. , also: *heḡlīḡ*, *balanites**aegyptiaca*) púrà/yíbúrà.7. palmyra (*borassus flabelliformis*, S.Ar.*delēb*) kùr/sùrn;

yèṁṇò/ṇèṁṇò fruit of palmyra.

8. sycamore (wild fig, *figus sycomorus*, Ar.*ḡummaiz*) wàndəḡḡàn/yàndəḡḡàn;cf. *jimmida*.9. tamarind (*tamarindus indicus*, S.Ar. *ʿandēb*)

pó(ó)ṇèn/yíboónèn [o/ɔ].

10. *um-kaddaqī* (S.Ar.) wòr/yíwóórèn

[pl. /LLLL];

cf. *baobab*.

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|---------------|---|
| <i>Turjuk</i> | toorig <i>the village Turjuk;</i> wóóríg/yóóríg <i>person/people from Turjuk;</i> ḡóóríg <i>language of Turjuk.</i> |
| <i>twin</i> | oíráḡ/nírmót. |
| <i>two</i> | -úkkók [kk/k]. |

U

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|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>udder</i> | yéndóm/ḡúndóm. |
| <i>urinate</i> | -uji; pres. y-ùjí; past y-újì. |
| <i>urine</i> | ḡoc. |

V

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>vagina</i> | tḡgát/yágdát [ḡ/ḡ]. |
| <i>valley</i> | tìyéú. |
| <i>vein/artery</i> | kàríà/kàríát; < Ar. ? |
| <i>vein</i> | 1. = root. 2. firyā; < Ar. širyān. |
| <i>village</i> | tan. |
| <i>voice</i> | ḡálgííḡ. |

W

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| wake up (<i>intr.</i>) | pres. y-ìfòjáy [ɪ/i]; past y-ìfòján. |
| war | kénát. |
| water | ṇàì; cf. bile. |
| weed, type 1 (<i>creeping</i>) | yìmìì. |
| weed, type 2 (<i>creeping</i>) | yìldín/ṇìldín. |
| weed, type 3 (<i>spiralling</i>) | káráryàn. |
| well n. | kám/sámât; cf. lake. |
| what | agn; agn èn <i>what is it?</i> |
| where | négán; négán cíṇ cùgún (n)en <i>where is the boy?</i> |
| which | cíṇ cínacèn <i>which boy?</i> |
| whirlwind | yómólòk. |
| white | -ùb(ù)ṇíṇ. |
| who | tǎjín. |
| whose | tǎjín kùrú; tǎjín kùrú nèn <i>whose is it?</i> |
| widow | azaba; < Ar. ʿazaba. |
| wife | = person. |

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| <i>wild cat</i> | wírát/yórdát [LH: <i>type of mouse</i> ?]. |
| <i>wilderness</i> | tíyàù/tìyàuwít. |
| <i>wind/air</i> | yél; <i>cf. whirlwind.</i> |
| <i>wind</i> | hawa; < Ar. <i>hawā</i> . |
| <i>witch (female)</i> | (k)wim/yìmit [pl. /yùmit]; <i>cf. sorcerer.</i> |
| <i>woman</i> | = <i>person.</i> |
| <i>wood</i> | kìlál/sìlál. |
| <i>wrist/Achilles'</i> <i>tendon/hollow</i> <i>of knee</i> | kìríç/síríjít [sg. /LL; pl. /sìrìgìt/ siri(n)jet]; <i>cf. ankle.</i> |

Y

| | |
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| <i>yam</i> | kìrář/sìrář. |
| <i>year</i> | kàdák/sàdàgán. |
| <i>yes</i> | éì. |
| <i>yesterday</i> | yémbáŋ. |
| <i>yolk</i> | yé yàràù (<i>lit. red egg</i>). |

Z

| | |
|--------------|---|
| <i>zebra</i> | càdúm cirmo/nàdùmét nirmo (<i>lit. black donkey</i>). |
|--------------|---|

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